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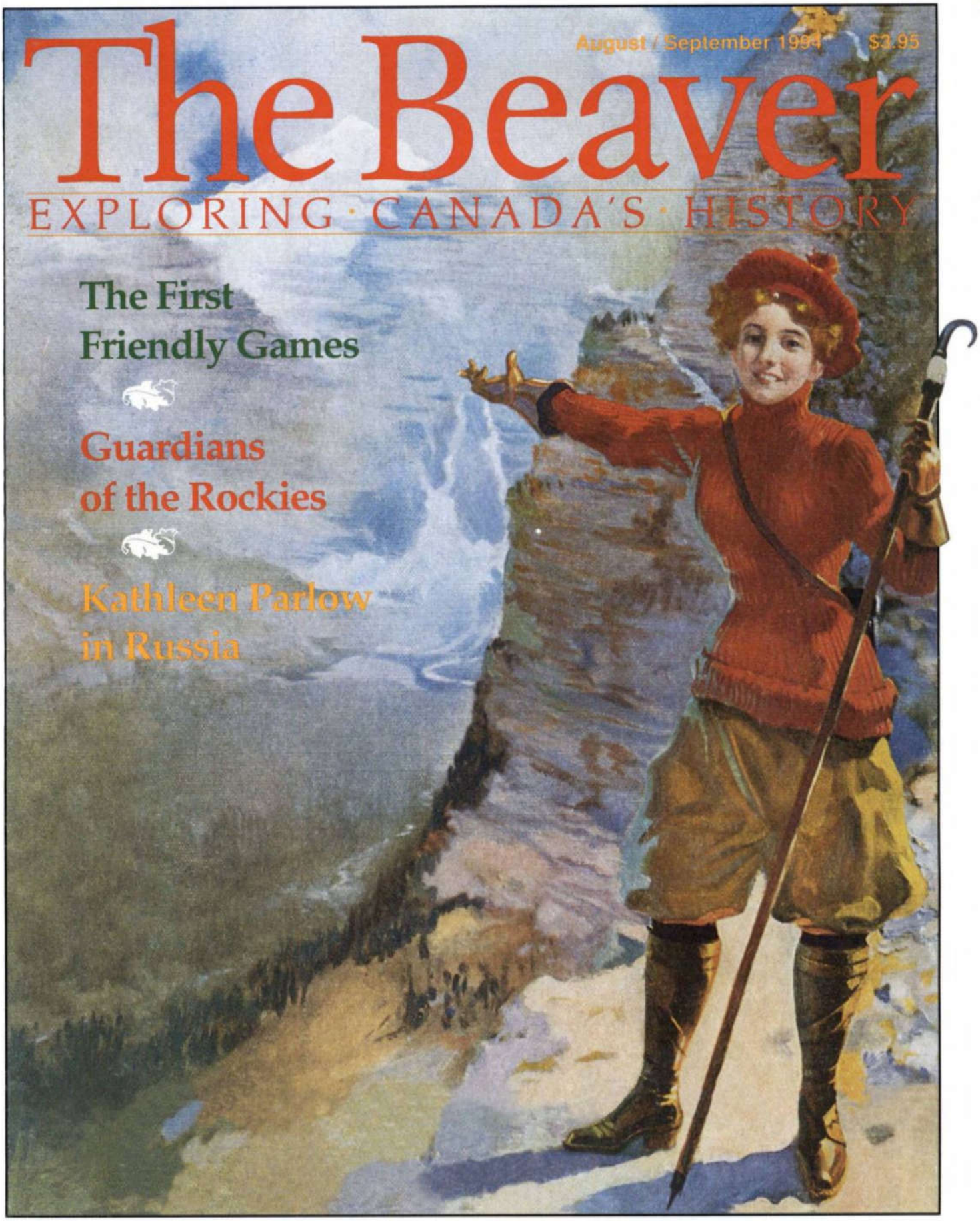
The Beaver

EXPLORING · CANADA'S · HISTORY



The First Friendly Games

Guardians of the Rockies

Kathleen Parlow in Russia

The Beaver

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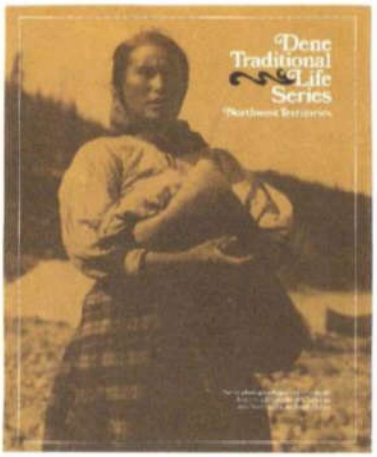

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FOUNDED 1920

August/September 1994
Vol. 74:4
Issued July 1994
$3.95

Editor:
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Winnipeg, MB
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Cover:
"The Challenge of the Mountains". From an early CPR travel brochure. Glenbow Archives.

THE BEAVER: Exploring Canada's History (ISSN 0005-7517) is published bi-monthly by The Governor and Company of Adventurers of England Trading into Hudson's Bay, known as the Hudson's Bay Company, 450 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada R3C 0E7. (204) 786-7048.

U.S. MAILING ADDRESS: THE BEAVER Magazine, c/o H.A. & J.L. Wood, Inc., Box 329, Pembina, North Dakota 58271-0329.

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION: (6 issues) $22.50 (Canada and United States) SINGLE COPY $3.95. OTHER COUNTRIES ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION $29.

Manitoba Residents:
Add 7% PST ($1.47 on 1-year subscription; $2.55 on 2-year; $3.53 on 3-year).

PUBLICATIONS MAIL REGISTRATON NO. 1401.

CANADIAN POSTMASTER: Send address changes to THE BEAVER Magazine, 450 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg, Manitoba R3C 0E7.

U.S. SECOND-CLASS MAIL REGISTRATION NUMBER USPS 759-610.

U.S. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to THE BEAVER Magazine, c/o H.A. & J.L. Wood, Inc., Box 329, Pembina, North Dakota 58271-0329.

Second class postage paid at Winnipeg and at additional mailing office.

While every care will be taken of manuscripts and illustrations submitted, no liability will be assumed for loss.

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GST Registration Number: R 102420296.

PRINTED IN CANADA

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The Peaceable Kingdom

After 127 eventful years we can now safely say that no members of the so-called "Confederation Generation" — those who were infants when the British North America Act was proclaimed — are alive to remind us that Canada is, after all, still a "young country". Mind you, it is always unwise to speak too soon. Not too long ago there were aged men in the Soviet Union who claimed to have seen

Napoleon. There are medical marvels in this world and there may be a tottery great-great-great-grandfather in some remote hamlet in Quebec who attributes his longevity to spruce beer and recalls, clearly, speeches made on local platforms by Sir George-Étienne Cartier and Sir Francis Hincks.

For most of this century, politicians have insisted on calling Canada a "young country", the idea being, I suppose, that other nations will be left behind in a cloud of dust once the "young giant of the North" hits his stride.

Questions of "youth" or "age", after all, are relative. One of my grandparents was born in the region then known as "Canada West" in 1866 and his wife, my grandmother, was born in the year of Confederation in Quebec. Their old age and my childhood coincided. They reminded me that the "Canada" proclaimed in 1867 was still relatively young, although the story of Canada went far back in time. There were people living here when the Egyptians were building the pyramids. We simply reorganized ourselves in 1867. We should always keep that in mind when we talk about being " a young country".

Not long after the reorganization of 1867, when Canadians were travelling from coast to coast on comfortable railway trains and predicting that 40 million people would one day inhabit a Western Canada that had recently been vacated by 40 million buffalo, it was widely believed that the twentieth century belonged to Canada. Wilfrid Laurier said so and many Canadians said "Why not?" Winnipeg, after all, was going to be another Chicago and Toronto would one day make Cleveland look like a one-horse town. As the twentieth century drew nearer, Canadians were thinking on a grand scale.

Well, some were. The frictions and problems that we all know so well today were already being felt, although there were a few variations. There were, for example, separatists in Nova Scotia. Others were sure that the nation could not hold together. Some thought that there were too many "foreigners" getting in. There were ultra-nationalists in Quebec. Ontario coveted lands that were to have been granted to tiny Manitoba. There was trouble on the plains and many British Columbians felt that joining forces with Canada had been a terrible mistake. Some Canadians deplored the British connection and wished that the Motherland would keep out of Canadian affairs. Others felt that we were not loyal enough. In rural Ontario and elsewhere Protestants hated Catholics, Catholics disliked Protestants and just about everybody felt that if Jews were allowed in they would take over the country. The Tories wanted to people the prairies with farmers of British stock. The Liberals were convinced that British farmers couldn't take the winters, the insects or the aboriginals and called for tough Ukrainians in sheepskin coats.

The country, in short, was on a crisis footing and it might be said to have remained so ever since. Perhaps we did not know that being in crisis is one of the main attributes of nationhood. Without crisis and inner tension you gradually evolve into Monaco.

Canadians have been saying for some decades that Wilfrid Laurier was wrong, after all. The twentieth cen-

tury actually belonged to somebody else, probably the Americans. With the twentieth century almost over we are still in a crisis situation. Honoré Mercier is gone, but those who fear the break-up of the nation now have to contend with the policies of Bouchard and Parizeau. The country is tottering and it is not, after all, as young as it used to be. Did we miss our chance for greatness?

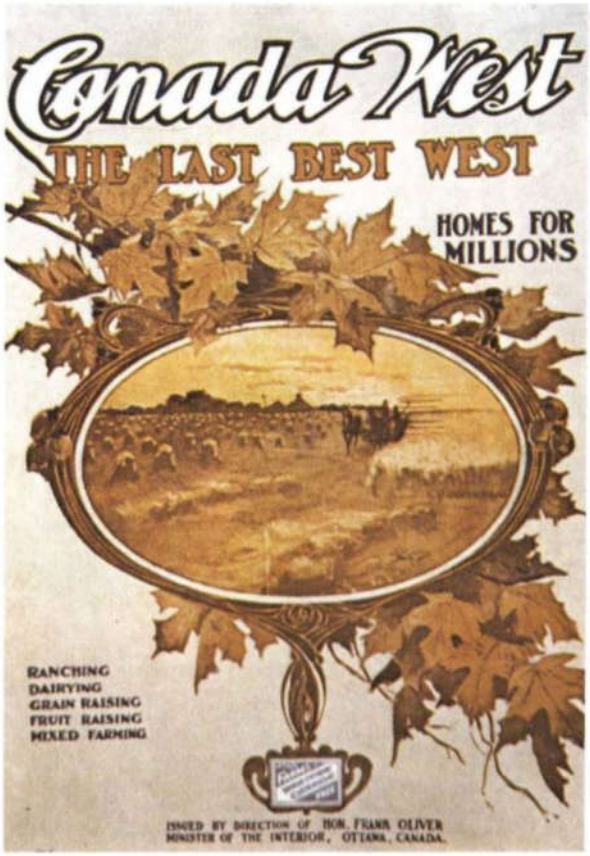
Nevertheless, it may well be that Laurier was correct. Perhaps the century did belong to Canada and we were not clever enough to notice. By any standard, this century was a difficult one. Terrible things happened in the world. For misery and horror the century now drawing to a close was as bad as any since the Dark Ages. Canadians were often in the thick of it, but from our vantage point in the middle of the final decade we can see, if we care to look, that Canada has weathered the storm better than most. We have our problems, but they are not beyond solution. Other nations admire the lives we lead. They envy the air we breathe and the water we drink. We are finding ways to ensure harmony in a population of diverse background. Our standards of living and quality of life are considered exceptional. We are not shy about openly discussing our shortcomings. There has long been friction between the two founding language groups, but our discussions have generally been carried out at a civilized level and there has been little violence. Nobody has ever seriously considered civil war. We argue among ourselves about things that we care about. When something comes up to perplex us, we organize a conference instead of rushing to the barricades or setting cars on fire. We have outgrown many of the faults that disfigured national life in an earlier era, such as religious discord and organized anti-semitism. Racial problems flare up from time to time, but when they do there is a general movement toward discussion and reconciliation.

We appear to be so modest that other nations accuse us of being bland and boring. In fact, we find ourselves intensely interesting and are always discussing ways of making the country better.

Thirty years ago Canadians worried about such things as "national identity". Did we have one, we wondered. Increasingly, Canadians appear to know perfectly well who they are and what they believe. We are aware of our place in the world and of the responsibilities that accompany status and position.

The arts have flourished in this century and Canadian writers and other artists have found recognition in the greater world. They offer a Canadian perspective that is unique.

We have no reason to be smug or complacent, but we might be forgiven for pausing now and then to take stock and count our blessings, which are manifold. It may be that this was our century, after all. We are not the richest nation on the planet nor the most powerful.



Other nations do not fear us. By the old definitions of "success" our accomplishments may be modest. We have no Canadian Empire and have no wish to create one. We have, however, been remarkably successful in creating a new kind of country in which the whole world is represented. We are concerned about the future, but we do not fear it. We made a long, difficult and successful journey through the twentieth century and the end of the road is not in sight as we move toward the next one, but the journey has brought us great rewards.

HELEN BURGESS

It is with regret that we note the death, on 16 April 1994 in Winnipeg, of Helen Burgess, former editor of *The Beaver.*

Helen Burgess succeeded Malvina Bolus as editor in 1972 after a career as a writer, civil servant and editor of *North* magazine, published by the Department of Northern Affairs in Ottawa.

She was a co-founder of Watson & Dwyer Publishers of Winnipeg, specializing in works on the history of the Canadian North and West.

She retired from *The Beaver* in 1985, devoting her final years to her publishing venture and to her family.

BEAUTY, HEALTH AND MORAL UPLIFT

Guardians of the Rockies

By PearlAnn Reichwein

The origins of current debates over wilderness preservation in Canada and the future of the national parks are in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, yet the history of Canada's early conservationists is not well known. Women conservationists, such as Elizabeth Parker and Mary Schäffer, have been particularly overlooked. These members of the Alpine Club of Canada promoted wilderness conservation during a formative period in park development. The vision of activists like Parker and Schäffer helped shape the national park idea and the future of the Canadian Rocky Mountain parks.

Between 1890 and 1914 Canada changed from a largely agrarian society to an urban, industrialized nation. Against this backdrop of change some people saw the national parks as calm retreats from the rude intrusions of a technological age. True wilderness, however, could not resist the far-ranging effects of modern expansion.

From the 1880s, commercial tourism made inroads through the Canadian Rocky Mountain wilderness. The development of national parks began in 1887 with the creation of Rocky Mountains Park — later part of Banff — fostered by the transcontinental extension of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Tourism was one of the primary purposes behind creating Canada's early national parks. The scenic beauty and natural wonders of the mountains evoked the awe and curiosity of many Victorians who travelled to the "Canadian Alps" in search of leisure.

Nonetheless, the national park idea was still in a formative stage. Members of the ACC were particularly instrumental in shaping this idea. Parker and Schäffer said parks should preserve wilderness as a national resource. They placed the ultimate value of nature in nature itself, rather than in its economic exploitation. Today's national park idea derives in part from a conservation tradition represented by these guardians of the Rocky Mountain wilderness.

Parker interpreted the Canadian "mountain heritage" as a "national asset." As a professional journalist and founding secretary of the ACC, she institutionalized Canadian alpinism and promoted an aesthetic rationale for the preservation of Canada's mountain wilderness. It was largely due to Parker's nationalist impetus that a distinctly Canadian alpine club — the ACC — emerged in 1906. Her vision of the Canadian Rockies foreshadowed the tension between use and preservation in Canada's national parks.

Born in Colchester County, Nova Scotia in 1856, Elizabeth received teacher's training at the normal school in Truro. She taught school for one year before marrying, at age 18, Henry J. Parker. The couple lived with two sons and a daughter in Halifax before moving to Winnipeg in 1892, where Henry Parker worked as a railway clerk. Steered toward a career in journalism by her interest in poetry, Elizabeth Parker became the first literary editor of the *Manitoba Free Press* in 1904. Travelling in the Rockies galvanized Parker's interest in wilderness, and she was one of the first journalists to publicize the mountains to Canadian readers.

Parker first saw the Canadian Rockies during a train trip in the late 1880s, followed by another visit in the 1890s. Her health was never robust, and in 1904 she and her children left Winnipeg for a restful 18-month holiday in Banff. Their jaunts through the Rockies and British Columbia's Selkirk Range launched several newspaper articles. In these travel accounts, Parker emphasized the power of nature experienced by the "mountain pilgrim".

Until the 1890s, few Canadians bothered to challenge the mostly American and British alpinists accomplishing the first ascents of Canada's snow-capped mountains. Many Canadians were unenthusiastic about

The unspoiled beauty of the mountains near Glacier House captured in a photo by the Notman studios.

'The tourists have destroyed all that bloom — miserable vandals!'

— ELIZABETH PARKER

Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies

Founding of the Alpine Club of Canada at Winnipeg, March 1906. Elizabeth Parker stands with a rope over her shoulder in the front row with Arthur Wheeler at her left and her daughter Jean behind her.

mountaineering. Parker believed the time had come for Canadians to awaken to their mountain heritage. In September 1905, she called for the creation of a Canadian alpine club.

Mountaineer-geographer Arthur O. Wheeler had proposed in his book *The Selkirk Range* (1905) that Canadians form a wing of the American Alpine Club. Reviewing his book for the *Free Press,* Parker rebuked Wheeler for losing hope of forming a Canadian club: "We owe it to our own young nationhood, in simple self-respect, to begin an organized system of mountaineering on an independent basis. It is simply amazing that for so long we have cared so little". Joining forces, Parker and Wheeler renewed the drive for a Canadian alpine club. According to Wheeler, "Parker's cultured and forcible style of writing, her keen sense of vision and invariable accuracy of statement" were vital in promoting a Canadian mountaineering club.

In the spring of 1906, Parker arranged an organizational meeting of a Canadian alpine club in Winnipeg. Six provinces were represented among the 26 conference delegates and on 28 March 1906 the Alpine Club of Canada was formed.

Unlike the English Alpine Club, the ACC admitted women as well as men. In this respect, the ACC was characteristic of North American mountaineering clubs. Women formed a growing proportion of the ACC membership during its initial years. Of the 250 memberships registered for 1907, one-third belonged to women; by 1917, women held half the ACC memberships. The annual ACC publication, the *Canadian Alpine Journal (CAJ),* recommended mountaineering as an excellent recreation for women, reflecting the more vigourous roles adopted at the turn of the century by middle-class Canadian women. Parker was a career woman in her fifties by the time the ACC became active. She described herself as one who "scales the rock and cuts the ice-stairway in imagination only," yet she infused the ACC with a distinct philosophy.

Parker served as the ACC secretary from its inception until 1910. During the club's early years, the temporary headquarters and growing ACC library, administered by her mountaineering daughter Jean, were located in their home in Winnipeg. Parker contributed many articles and book reviews to the annual magazine, first published by the ACC in 1907. Her articles about the Canadian mountains were also printed in several British publications. In 1912, Parker was co-author of an ACC guidebook with the club's first president, A.O. Wheeler.

From its outset, the ACC was intended as a multipur-

pose alpine organization, rather than a simply athletic mountaineering club. Its 1906 constitution listed scientific, exploratory, creative, and educational objectives. Among these objectives, two statements were pertinent to conservation and the Dominion parks. On one hand, the ACC sought to encourage "mountain craft and the opening of new regions as a national playground": on the other, the club enshrined in principle the "preservation of the natural beauties of the mountain places and of the fauna and flora in their habitat." These objectives would have paradoxical outcomes: increased human use and its subsequent impact on the mountains would ultimately come into conflict with the club's devotion to wilderness preservation.

The paradoxical objectives of the ACC paralleled those of Dominion parks legislation. From the outset, both the ACC and the national parks attempted to manage the contending forces of human use and wilderness preservation. By the 1940s, mass tourism brought the conflict to a head.

As the ACC secretary, Parker instilled a vision of Canadian alpinism as "an ennobling, ethical and aesthetic pastime," musing that Canadians "ought to become a nation of mountaineers." Parker projected the nationalist values of middle-class Anglo-Canadians onto alpinism, which the club promoted as a school for pluck, morality, and nobility of character. According to Parker, mountaineering was an excellent moral corrective to the decadence of modern society. She recommended walking, and maintained that it was the ACC's business to promote the use of non-motorized transportation in the mountains: "It would be a great thing for young Canadians if all the automobiles vanished into space and walking for pleasure became the fashion."

Like her American contemporary John Muir, founder of the Sierra Club, Parker espoused an ethic of aesthetic conservation. Parker saw God in the beauty of nature. This transcendental impression of the aesthetic and spiritual value of the mountain wilderness was further reflected in her affinity for the Romantic poets.

Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies

On the Horseshoe Glacier, 1907. Elizabeth Parker set a policy of liberating dress for women alpinists: "What applies to one sex applies to the other in all matters of clothing for actual climbing."

In the first issue of the *Canadian Alpine Journal* Parker voiced a strong stand on wilderness preservation:

> By virtue of its constitution, the Alpine club is a national trust for the defence of our mountain solitudes against the intrusion of steam and electricity and all the vandalisms of this luxurious, utilitarian age; for the keeping free from the grind of commerce, the wooded passes and valleys and alplands of the wilderness. It is the people's right to have primi-

Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies

Summer Camp in Paradise Valley, 1907, Elizabeth Parker at the centre beside a pipe-smoking Arthur Wheeler. The annual camp was described as "the altar and hearthstone of the club." In 1907, 150 members and guests attended.

tive access to the remote places of safest retreat from the fever and the fret of the market place and the beaten tracks of life.

For Parker, nature represented an "oversoul" transcending modern materialism. Wilderness, in its raw beauty, offered the purest expression of nature. The function of the parks, not unlike that of the ACC, rested in preserving wilderness from the excess of the age.

Evidently, Parker did not view the ACC mandate to promote alpinism and encourage "the opening of new regions as a national playground" as conflicting with preservation. In certain respects, her support for wilderness preservation and use coincided with the ambiguities of park policy, but what Parker and early alpinists only vaguely sensed, later generations would consider a striking clash of values.

Parker lived during an important transition in the history of the Canadian Rockies. As the first ACC secretary and one of the founding members of Canada's national alpine organization, she institutionalized her aesthetic philosophy of the mountains. The Canadian mountain wilderness was a source of spiritual enlightenment and inspiration. As the preserve of a shrinking natural world, the national parks offered safe haven to wilderness. Unlike those who argued nature could be scientifically managed to accommodate commerce, Parker saw a value in a nature beyond its potential for economic exploitation. Through the ACC, Parker expressed this biocentric rationale for the preservation of nature.

The ACC continued to grow and by the First World War the club had branched across Canada and abroad. Many of these original clubs still exist. The journal has been published annually since 1907 and remains an enduring record of the history of twentieth-century Canadian alpinism. Through its journal, the ACC "added a worthy something to Canadian literature, art and science" as Parker anticipated. However, through its business with outfitters, hotels, and railways, the ACC furthered the growth of commercial enterprise in the mountains and, unwittingly, the demise of true wilderness.

Co-operation between the federal government and the alpine club at the turn of the century provided the basis for a long-standing partnership in the use and management of the national parks. The ACC continues to be a preferred park user today. The ACC developed a system of alpine huts. In 1931, Canadian Pacific donated two cabins near Lake O'Hara. They were named in honour of Elizabeth Parker and continue to operate. By 1986, the club operated more than 50 huts in Alberta and B.C. Because of heavy use, debate has

Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies

The quest for Maligne Lake: Mary Schaffer and her outfitter Billy Warren, circa 1907. They later married and lived in Banff.

arisen over the compatibility of this program with national park values. The conflict between use and preservation, only vaguely sensed by Parker, is now at the fulcrum of Canadian parks policy.

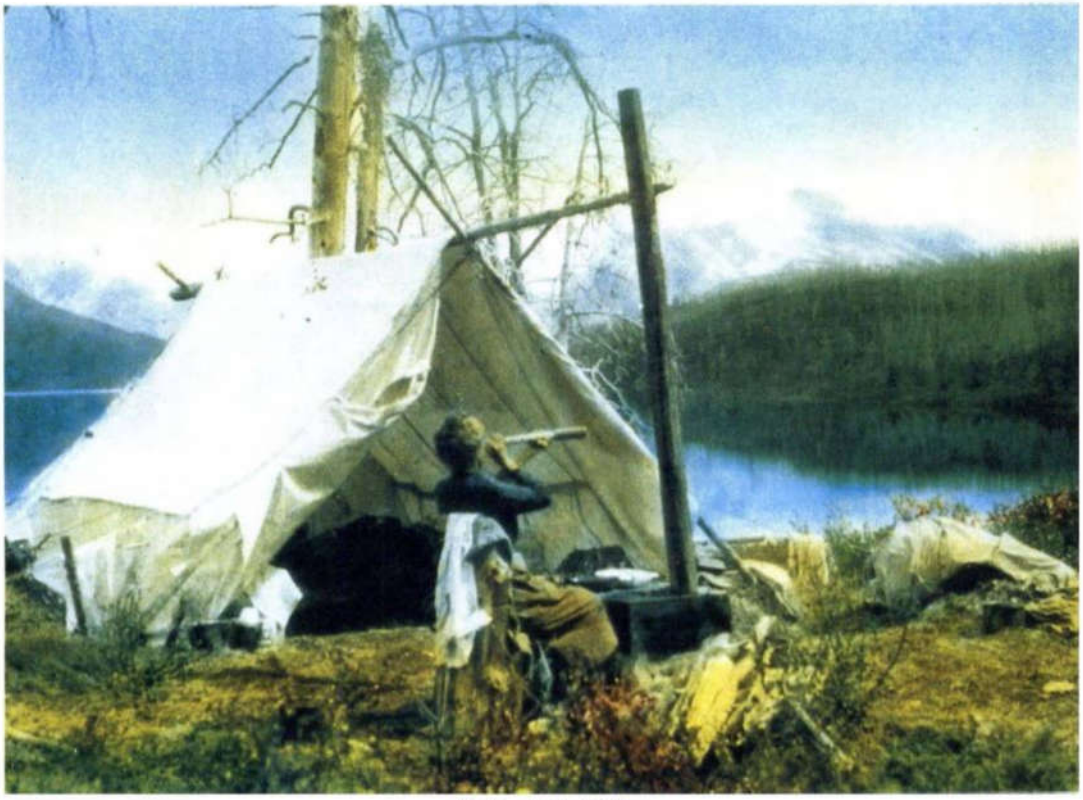
As the 1920s drew to a close, Parker lamented the changes caused by increased tourism in the mountains. At age 73, she reminisced about "the brief golden age of Lake Louise," recalling the solitude and remoteness which had characterized her early visits to Banff, Glacier House and Lake Louise. She observed that popularity had exacted its toll on the flowers in the alpine meadows: "The tourists have destroyed all that bloom — miserable vandals!" Parker deplored the impact of growing tourism and commercial development. As a member of an earlier generation of tourists, she observed firsthand the effects of human use on the Rockies, and saw the rising need for controlled management to preserve her beloved mountain solitudes.

Meanwhile, government and the ACC grew increasingly pro-development as they sought to extend recreational accessibility to more visitors. This change was evident two months after Parker's death in the 1944 ACC proposal for park development. Postwar ACC policy shifted the balance of values toward wilderness use at the expense of preservation. This change compromised one of the fundamental ACC objectives and was unlikely to have met fully with Parker's idealistic views. For Parker, the unrestrained vandals of mass tourism posed a threat to the mountain solitudes. Mass recreation required control. Park management strategies would ultimately need to address the preservation of wilderness values, as postwar automobile tourism swept through the mountain parks.

By the 1910s, Canadians had learned to appreciate

Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies

The Mary Schäffer packtrain fording a mountain river, date unknown.



Maligne Lake, 1908.

the wonders of their mountains, but increasingly, they chose to do so within the confines of commercialized tourism or from the comfort of their automobiles. Thus, elite alpinism rooted in nineteenth-century natural science was overwhelmed by mass tourism, which, in the minds of enthusiasts like Parker, diminished the moral value of alpinism and ultimately jeopardized the wilderness.

Although the ACC succumbed to the aspirations of mass tourism, Parker's aesthetic conservationism persisted through another institution. In 1923, the ACC spawned the Canadian National Parks Association (CNPA), which expanded on ideas originally expressed by Parker. The CNPA grew to be a significant parks advocate, urging "the conservation of the Canadian National Parks for scientific, recreational and scenic purposes, and their protection from exploitation for commercial purposes." These objectives for the national parks were those Parker had pronounced 16 years earlier. Although Parker's idealism contrasted with the changes that transformed the solitude of the Canadian Rockies, her ideas regarding the aesthetic value of alpine wilderness brought about a new generation of conservation in Canada through the CNPA, one which would stress natural resource preservation as the primary mandate of the national parks.

Parker was not the only conservationist among the founding women of the ACC. Mary Schäffer was a wealthy member from Philadelphia who explored hundreds of miles on horseback through remote regions of the Canadian Rockies. She knew the wilderness well and regretted that railway expansion through the northern Rockies heralded the end of an era. Her reports of the outstanding Maligne valley contributed to its eventual inclusion within the boundaries of Jasper Park.

Schäffer was born in 1861, in West Chester, Pennsylvania, the third of five Quaker children. Her father's enthusiasm for geology, a family affiliation with the Academy of Natural Sciences in Philadelphia, and the Quaker emphasis on natural history and sexual egalitarianism encouraged Mary Sharples' early interest in nature. In 1889, her holiday with members of the Academy in Rogers Pass, British Columbia, resulted in two significant encounters. During their stay at the CPR chalet, Glacier House, the Vaux family introduced Mary to botanical painting and wildflower photography — and to her future husband, Dr. Charles Schäffer, a Philadelphia medical doctor and botany enthusiast.

Mary Schäffer returned to the mountains many summers to help with her husband's botanical study of the Canadian Rockies. She produced detailed botanical paintings and photographs for the book. Following the death of her husband in 1903, Schäffer collaborated with Stewardson Brown, Curator of the Herbarium of

the Academy of Natural Sciences, to finish the work, which was published under the title *Alpine Flora of the Canadian Rocky Mountains* (1907).

During her forties, Mary Schäffer embarked on an adventurous phase of life that carried her far from the beaten track of tourism in the Canadian Rockies. In search of consolation and without domestic ties, Schäffer embarked on summer-long packtrips through the wilderness. In 1907 and 1908, Schäffer and her hired outfitters rode hundreds of miles by horseback from the CPR station at Laggan (Lake Louise) north through the country now encompassed by Jasper National Park.

On the second journey, the expedition located the elusive *Chaba Imne,* known today as Maligne Lake. Schäffer published accounts of these expeditions in her work *Old Indian Trails* (1911). In her book, Maligne symbolized wilderness untouched by the outside world: "We were to have the pleasure of stealing the first secrets of a primeval wilderness."

Prior to the extension of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway (GTPR), knowledge of what lay in the wilderness of Jasper Park was limited. Through articles written for newspapers and periodicals, books published about natural history and trail life, botanical watercolours, and photographs, Schäffer relayed her experience of the backcountry to the outside world. While wintering in Philadelphia, she gave lectures about her travels to scientific groups accompanied by her celebrated lantern slides — projections of hand-tinted photographs. This publicity conveyed the knowledge of the Canadian Rocky Mountain wilderness to a wider audience.

Although her visit to Maligne was not the first on record, the publication of Schäffer's explorations distinguished her as the first traveller to locate Maligne Lake since 1875. Schäffer gained public recognition as an authority on some of the more remote areas of Jasper Park. Having proven her credentials as a Rocky Mountain adventurer, Schäffer was drawn into the issues of national park management and wilderness conservation.

In 1911, Schäffer conducted a topographical survey of Maligne Lake at the request of Dr. D.B. Dowling, a member of the Geographic Board of Canada. According to Schäffer, he insisted that she do the survey because she had "discovered" the lake. In her characteristically unassuming manner, the explorer gave credit to her guides and emphasized that her party had "only RE-FOUND it as it had long been a famous hunting ground for Stonies from Morley and the Crees of the Athabaska". Schäffer had no experience as a surveyor, and it was highly unusual even to suggest that the Department of the Interior select a woman to lead a survey in the Canadian West. However, the magnitude of her public reputation was undeniable. Dowling and parks officials agreed that sending Schäffer to survey Maligne Lake might advertise the Jasper area as a tourist destination.

Schäffer's survey coincided with important changes in the administration of Canada's Dominion parks. On 19 May 1911 the *Dominion Forest Reserves and Parks Act* officially created separate departmental branches for the administration of federal forest reserves and forest parks, designating for the first time a distinct parks branch.

As part of the 1911 administrative reorganization, extensive changes were made to the national park boundaries, resulting in large-scale reduction of individual and total park areas. The total area of Canada's seven Dominion parks dropped from 11,136 square miles to 4,019.5, a total loss of 7,116.5 square miles. As a result, Jasper Park was reduced from 5,000 square miles to a narrow 1,000 square mile strip running parallel to and extending 10 miles on either side of the GTPR. Many significant features, including the drainage of the upper Athabasca and Sunwapta Rivers, Mount Edith Cavell, Medicine Lake, and Maligne Lake no longer fell within the boundaries of Jasper Park.

Schäffer realized that the Maligne Lake region had been excluded from the new Jasper Park boundaries and that civilization, represented by the advancing railway, was consuming the wilderness. A sense of sadness pervaded her desire to see the lake again "before it too fell under that fatal breath of 'improvement'." Her survey trip conveyed an active message to the public

and the federal government in favour of reinstituting the Maligne region within Jasper Park and protecting its wilderness under the jurisdiction of the national parks.

During the summer of 1911, Schäffer and her outfitters surveyed and mapped Maligne Lake and named its surrounding peaks. They began the task of measuring the lake on 22 June using a rowboat made of cedar planks packed by horse into the backcountry. Despite setbacks, including dropping the survey spools to the bottom of the cold lake and breaking Schäffer's only

A post card view of Maligne Lake, Jasper National Park.

pair of eye glasses, a reasonably accurate survey was completed on 24 July.

During the return stop in Edmonton, Schäffer's expedition was extensively reported in both daily newspapers. Schäffer was "indignant over the government's action in cutting off such large areas from the park and removing the game protection laws from the best breeding ground for goats, sheep, deer, and moose." The press reported her visit to Howard Douglas, Chief Superintendent of Parks, and made her views clear: "Mrs. Schäffer deplores the reduction of the Jasper park in area as it will throw open what have hitherto been the best game preserves in America." In Schäffer's opinion, Maligne Lake's inclusion within Jasper Park was vital to its protection.

Schäffer suggested that the government "have a steam launch put in commission" on the lake and argued "there is no finer tourist ground in America." She believed that tourism might be one means of restraining development in the wild country. Her recommendations reflected the dominant ambiguity of parks policy and her desire to preserve a quickly disappearing wilderness within protective national park boundaries. Schäffer's public comments emphasized the wilderness beauty of Maligne Lake, which would draw tourism to the area, and thus prompt the Dominion Government to return the lake to the jurisdiction of Jasper Park.

By throwing her weight behind the protection of Maligne Lake, Schäffer stirred public demands for the restoration of park lands. Following Schäffer's survey, the boundary changes to Jasper Park caused significant protest. In the spring of 1912, the GTPR, the Canadian Northern Railway, the ACC and the Camp Fire Club of America objected to the reduction of Jasper Park. Parks Branch administrators also sought to reverse the changes, and channeled interest-group pressure and internal politics to this end. Finally, on 24 June 1914, an Order in Council sanctioned the restoration of lands to Jasper and Waterton Parks, expanding the area of Jasper to 4,400 square miles, once again encircling Maligne Lake and its valley.

Like many other early twentieth-century developments in Canadian public policy, the national parks system was the product of a complex interaction of interest groups. The dual mandate of the national parks caused a struggle to balance the values of public use and environmental protection. In principle wilderness values are now given priority in national park management, but competing values continue to challenge policy with demands for increased development within the parks, as with recent controversy over expanding Sunshine Village Ski Resort in Banff National Park.

Through their vision and active dedication to the future of Canada's mountain parks, Parker and Schäffer bridged the transition from true wilderness to modern park management. Their work laid the foundation for the growth of a twentieth-century approach to environmental conservation. The tension between Parker's idealism and Schäffer's pragmatism persists when it comes to measuring the value of wilderness and the function of the national parks. Today Canadian conservationists are heir to their legacy as guardians of the wilderness. ◆

Writer and alpinist PearlAnn Reichwein lives in Banff, Alberta.

We declare we are all loyal subjects of His Majesty the King Emperor and will take part in the British Empire Games in the spirit of true sportsmanship recognizing the rules which govern them, desirous of participating in them for the honour of our Empire and the glory of sport.

With this athlete's oath Percy Williams, Canada's most distinguished athlete of the day, double gold medal winner of the sprints in the 1928 Olympics, opened the first ever British Empire Games at Hamilton, Ontario, Saturday, 16 August 1930. There were other short speeches, including a welcome from Viscount Willingdon, Governor General of Canada. Sportsman that he was, the noble lord had played a round of golf in the morning to put himself into the proper frame of mind.

The 11 teams that paraded onto the infield of the newly refurbished stadium minutes before "Peerless Percy's" words were led by Newfoundland, the oldest colony. The other teams represented England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Bermuda, British Guiana and the host nation, Canada. The organizers in the stands breathed a great sigh of relief and satisfaction as the 400 athletes assembled in the bright sun under a cloudless sky. It had been a Herculean task to assemble these athletes. The problems overcome had included fund-raising, construction, and organizing — to say nothing of the difficulties of starting an Olympic-styled athletic event from scratch. The various committees, but especially the Committee of Management under the leadership of Melville Marks "Bobby" Robinson, had performed minor miracles to achieve this moment and they could be excused for gloating.

There had been talk of British Empire Games for decades. At one point, in 1893, an effort had been made to hold a Pan-Britannic athletic meet. The minutes of the Amateur Athletic Union of Canada (AAU of C) show a motion by "Mr. Suckling" to send a team to the competition. The meet was cancelled, but had it taken place it would have preceded the start of the modern Olympic Games by two years. Earlier, in 1891, an Englishman named John Astley Cooper had promoted, in various newspapers and journals, the idea of an Anglo-Saxon Olympiad. These games were to be for whites only. Cooper later described the 1896 Olympics in Athens as "a hybrid, babel gathering". Cooper's ideas, however, did not fall on deaf ears everywhere. The concept of fostering goodwill and understanding of the Empire were nodded over agreeably in influential circles — so much so that a sort of trial-run was attempted in 1911, "The Festival of Empire".

The Festival of Empire, held in London, featured the United Kingdom, Australia and Canada and honoured the coronation of King George V. The events were limited, but whet an appetite nevertheless. There were track and field events (termed "athletics"), swimming, boxing (one weight division only) and wrestling (one weight division only). Canada won the competition by a single-point margin and claimed the Lonsdale Cup. This cup, presented by Lord Lonsdale, stood 2'6" (.76 metres) high and contained a staggering 340 ounces of silver. Lord Lonsdale and his cup of 1911 would figure in the British Empire Games decades later.

With enthusiasm for an Empire competition bubbling throughout the dominions, it required a catalyst in the form of an action man to bring the various factions together to launch an actual Empire Games. That person was the Hamilton, Ontario, dynamo "Bobby" Robinson, also known as "The Little Napoleon of Sport". His opportunity came in 1928.

Robinson, who died in 1974 at the age of 84, was involved in a number of local enterprises. He was a member of the board of education; he promoted the city as a track and field centre; he helped create the Canadian Legion and the Hamilton Olympic Club; he was secretary-treasurer of the Ontario Fruit and Vegetable Growers Association. His major source of income, however, reflected his deep and abiding love of sport. He was sports editor of the *Hamilton Spectator.*

When Robinson was selected to be the manager of the track and field team at the 1928 Olympics in Amsterdam, it seemed a heaven-sent opportunity in more ways than one. The AAU of C met in 1924 in part to accept the retirement of Norton H. Crowe as national secretary. Crowe presented a proposal for an Empire Games to be held on a four-year cycle at dates two years apart from the Olympics. When Robinson was named to the 1928 team, the AAU of C authorized him to discuss Crowe's Games proposal with other Empire representatives while all were at the Olympic Games. Could this oft-discussed and so-agreeable proposal finally lead to the first British Empire Games? Not without several morale-breaking reversals.

The concept presented by Robinson in Amsterdam was a motherhood-and-apple-pie statement that all agreed with; after all, there was no commitment of time or money or effort demanded. Further discussion was called for and it would take place at Stamford Bridge, England. The meeting in England was held in conjunction with the post-Olympic Empire versus the U.S.A. track meet. The raison d'être of this meet was to have an important bearing on the realization of the first Games although no one suspected it at the time.

The Empire versus the U.S.A. track meet had been held since the resumption of the Olympics after the First World War. The Americans so dominated the Games, especially track and field, that British pride was

AN EMPIRE IN COMPETITION

'The Friendly Games'

By Glynn A. Leyshon

PERCY WILLIAMS, "WORLD'S FASTEST MAN",
WINS AT HAMILTON, AUGUST 1930

piqued. Thus, the Empire versus the U.S.A. track meet was held after each Olympics to salvage a bit of self-esteem on the part of the British. The meets were usually held in the United Kingdom. Good sportsmanship reigned, as always, but the competition had a particularly keen edge.

When the Empire representatives assembled at Stamford Bridge for the track competition the meeting to discuss the Hamilton proposal was chaired by Lord Desborough of the British Amateur Athletic Association and the concept of the games was wholeheartedly endorsed once again. Financing was the major problem although there was also a strong reservation concerning the impact the proposed games might have on the Olympics. Could a British Empire Games undermine and weaken the Olympic movement? At the conclusion of the deliberations at Stamford Bridge it appeared that if the games in Hamilton were to take place at all they would be a one-time effort at best. The representatives departed feeling a warm glow of brotherhood in sport but, once again, without having made any substantial commitment to attend or otherwise support materially the actual running of the Games.

When Robinson returned to Hamilton he immediately began to organize the necessary committees. He would hold the Empire countries to their promises. To do so he

Melville Marks "Bobby" Robinson, father of the first British Empire Games.

needed influential people on committees who could also be counted upon to raise the necessary funds. He formed five committees, heavily salted with representatives of the military. The General Committee, for example, had 22 members, nine of whom had "Sir" before their names and the chairman was none other than General Sir Arthur Curry who had commanded the Canadian Forces in the war. The committee of management, which did the actual work, was led by Robinson himself.

Robinson's vision and capacity for work carried him through the next two years and pulled the entire company behind him as an engine pulls a train. He talked; he cajoled; he organized; he travelled; he recruited. At one point, he received a broken leg in a traffic accident and ran things from his hospital bed for a while, although some of his colleagues thought he should abandon the project. His greatest problem came from England. Late in 1929 the British informed Robinson they would not be attending because the necessary funding for their team could not be raised in a depression. Without the British the entire operation would fail. Other countries might not attend. Quick action was called for.

Robinson, with the approval of his understanding employer, the *Hamilton Spectator,* sailed for England to meet with Lord Derby, the most important man in British sport. Derby explained the British position. Robinson countered with the fact that he had already obtained the consent of King George V to be Patron of the Games and the Prince of Wales to be the Honorary President. Derby pointed to the economic crisis. Robinson then played his ace. If the English did not participate, the Americans would be invited to fill the void. Suddenly there was a reconsideration of the British position. Perhaps some funding could be arranged after all.

With that problem settled Robinson sailed home and set about designing the format and organizing the details of the competition. There were enormous logistical difficulties to consider — care and feeding, housing, transport, protocol, rules, synchronization, timing, facilities, officials, equipment — all of it done from scratch.

The style of these Games was to be different from other international contests. Sir W. Beach Thomas writing in *Overseas* magazine stated:

> It [the Empire Games] will be designed on the Olympic model both in general construction and in its stern definition of the amateur. But they will be very different, free from both excessive stimulus and the Babel of the international stadium. They should be merrier and less stern and will substitute the stimulus of a novel adventure for the pressure of international rivalry.

With that sort of credo to follow, Robinson and his fellows proceeded to establish "The Friendly Games". To encourage participation from the tentative and conservative nations, Robinson promised not only travel subsidies, but free food and lodging for the athletes during their stay. This was unheard of up to that time for even at the Olympics athletes had to find their own hotel accommodations. This generous incentive cost money and Robinson went to the city council of Hamilton for funds which were granted without hesitation. He had assured council that the games would not lose more than $10,000. Later, he proved as good as his word. An example of the zeal with which the city fathers supported the games occurred in 1929 when Robinson met with the council and outlined the needs which, in addition to major capital expenditures, required $25,000 in operating costs, $5,000 of it imme-

High-powered support was on hand to help launch the first Games. Left to right: Sir Edward Beatty, chairman of the C.P.R.; Viscount Willingdon, Governor General of Canada; R.B. Bennett, Canadian prime minister; and G. Howard Ferguson, Premier of Ontario.

diately. The council approved the request unanimously on the spot.

The expense of construction of the venues was a considerable undertaking especially in light of spreading economic depression. The city already possessed a municipal stadium built in 1927. It seated 8,000, but it was enlarged to handle 15,000 at a cost of $33,000. (It is still in use today.) The Hamilton Municipal Swimming Pool, one block from the stadium, was built for the games for $110,000. The Dundas marsh was dredged to provide a one and one-half mile rowing venue and the price for this work was $100,000. The population of Hamilton was 155,000 at the time, and with no federal funding these expenditures were of considerable magnitude and risk. The travel grants to teams like the Australians were $5,000 each. To put this into some perspective one should note that a school teacher at the time earned $960 a year.

With facilities under control, Robinson's attention turned to the athletes. Food and accommodation had been promised. It was decided to use an elementary school across the street from the stadium as a dormitory. A tent served as a dining hall. For travel within the country, an arrangement made with the C.P.R. gave all athletes and officials fare and one-half round trip. It was not a coincidence that E.W. Beatty, president of the railroad, was Chairman of the Committee for Canada on the British Empire Games. Finally, there were the female athletes to be accommodated.

The 1928 Olympics had seen the inaugural competitions in track and field (athletics) for women and the Canadian females had performed remarkably well. The six-woman team winning two gold medals, a silver and a bronze and beating the U.S. women's team for the unofficial athletics championship. The powers controlling the British Empire Games, however, decided to hold a competition for women in swimming only. There was speculation that the British team of women track and field athletes could have come to Canada, and if so there would have been competition in these first games. The British, however, decided to attend the Women's Games in Europe and without these athletes in Hamilton it was decided the women's events in track and field were not worth holding. It was particularly galling to Canadians like Ethel Catherwood (Olympic gold medallist in the high jump) and Myrtle Cook (world record-holder in the 100-metre sprint) for they competed during the British Empire Games in the

Giving his all for England, Lord Burghley crosses the finish line — a winner.

national track and field championships in the very stadium where they would have competed for Empire Games medals.

Robinson and his colleagues relied on the city's traditional interest in sport to support the undertaking financially and their faith was justified. The stadium on opening day was packed and the weather was good. Among the athletes were runners Percy Williams of Canada, Lord David Burghley and Tom Hampson of England and W. Legg of South Africa; three female Olympic silver medal winners in swimming, J. Cooper of England and E. King and S. Stewart of Scotland; Canadian Jim Trifunov, bronze medallist in wrestling; Munroe Bourne and Jimmy Thompson of Canada, bronze medallists in swimming. Bob Pearce from Australia was Olympic single sculls champion.

Lord Burghley, heir to the fifth Marquis of Exeter, was a special phenomenon. Burghley was a fine athlete, Olympic gold medallist in the 400-metre hurdles in 1928 and undefeated in over 100 races. He was treated far differently from other athletes by the organizers. It is doubtful that he stayed in the spartan accommodations of the athletes' dormitory for when his picture appeared in the paper it was included with a group featuring Prime Minister R.B. Bennett and Governor General Willingdon, rather than with the other athletes lower on the page.

The spectators thronged to the games. At the opening ceremonies, the marching teams gave an "eyes right" and dipped flags at the reviewing stand. When all were assembled, everyone sang "God Save the King" to the accompaniment of the pipe band. Cabled messages from the King and Prince of Wales were read and these were followed by speeches from dignitaries. Finally, "Rule Britannia" was sung by the multitude, the oath was taken, then fireworks and pigeons filled the air. It was broadcast on station CFCA with Foster Hewitt providing the commentary.

The very first gold medal of the 1930 British Empire Games was won by a Canadian, Gordon "Spike" Smallacombe. Smallacombe broke the Canadian record in the hop-step-and-jump with a leap of 48'5". His moment of glory was described in the press as follows:

> When Smallacombe was conducted to the dais of champions and told to hold out his right hand like a loyal supporter of Mussolini, while the band played "O Canada" and the Canadian standard was hoisted to the peak, the crowd — and particularly the Toronto contingent — rose up and tonsilled a paean of joy.

Despite Smallacombe's achievement, the powerful English team dominated the first day, capturing five of the eight gold medals in contention in track and swimming. The English power continued through the Games and they were the ultimate winners. The Canadian team, however, was quite successful over all. The boxers were a disappointment, but the triumphant wrestlers won all seven of the weight classifications, and the Canadian men swept the diving events.

That the competition was of high calibre is beyond dispute. Several Canadian records were broken. Smallacombe's hop-step-and-jump effort, for example, bettered the mark that had stood since 1908. In addi-

tion, C. Wolstenholme of England set a world record in the women's 220-yard breast stroke. Lord Burghley set a record in the 440-yard hurdles while two further Canadian marks were established in the women's 400-yard swimming freestyle relay and men's 100-yard back stroke.

Just how friendly the "Friendly Games" were was exemplified by an incident on the track. In the third heat of the 100-yard dash the New Zealand runner was disqualified after two false starts. The non-partisan crowd voiced their displeasure so loudly that race officials were unable to continue until the New Zealander had been reinstated.

Apart from track and field, the week-long festival embraced the following sports: swimming, diving, rowing, boxing, wrestling and lawn bowling. Robinson and company also added several other competitions to the week by organizing, in conjunction with the games, the Canadian and international canoe championships, international yachting, Canadian women's track and field championships, international rowing competition, Ontario Schoolboy track and field championships and international skiff races. These additional athletes swelled the number of contestants to 1,800 making it a truly large, multi-sport festival.

The citizens of Hamilton and Toronto responded to the attraction of the games in large numbers. The municipal pool had a capacity of 1,100 but 1,500 crowded in. At one point the doors were pushed in by the eager mob and the police had to be called to restore order. At the canoeing events, 10,000 lined the shores of Burlington Bay. An estimated 40,000 watched the English eight-oared crew win laurels. Unquestionably, the games were a spectacular success with the sports-hungry fans and the gate receipts were the proof. In the final audit, the cash cost to the city was $4,000 and that was more than offset by the presentation to the city parks and playgrounds of $8,000 worth of equipment.

Several athletes who participated in those games of 63 years ago are still living. Jack Aubin won a gold medal in the 200-yard breast stroke with a time of 2:38 2/3 in front of his friends and family. Although he had been a member of the 1928 Olympic team, he felt the British Empire Games were more competitive.

Greg Power, a 19-year-old from Newfoundland, had the honour of carrying the Newfoundland flag into the stadium at the head of his seven-man team. It had taken a week to travel from St. John's, but the team was proud and confident. Power was in the hop-step-and-jump but failed to place partly because of a bruised heel he acquired from practising on a hard track. He also found the food strange — people serving salads instead of great heaps of meat and potatoes could upset a man's stomach. Power later became an influential member of Joseph Smallwood's government.

Small, but strong: Gold-medal wrestler Jim Trifunov of Canada.

The oarsmen of the Hamilton Leander Rowing Club felt confident — after all, they were in home waters. They had only three days before defeated the Toronto Argonaut crew at Henley in St. Catharines for the right to represent Canada in these inaugural Empire Games. They finished third in the games, but for a green crew it was an outstanding performance. One of their number, Bill Thoburn, remembers how the game fervour in the city helped. Thoburn, a motorcycle policeman, was given time off each day from his regular shift in order to train for the contest.

If there was one area of the competition that was a problem, however, it was rowing. Beset by the vagaries of wind and weather, many events had to be rescheduled. The rescheduling, unfortunately, was difficult to communicate to the tens of thousands who were scattered along the shores of the bay. Many of them waited four or five hours, for example, for the big competition in the single sculls race between Australian Olympic champion Bobby Pearce and Canadian Joe Wright. Wright had to commute from Toronto for the races with his boat atop his car. He competed first in a quarter-

Canadian athletes march. Pole-vaulter Vic Pickard carries the sign, sculler Joe Wright carries the flag. Pickard later won his event.

Percy Williams takes the athletic oath at the opening of the 1930 games.

Lord Burghley, centre, flanked by F. Gary of England and H. Davis of South Africa, gives the Roman salute on the winners' dais.

mile sprint race which was not an official games contest. He returned next day for the longer sculling race only to find it postponed. He returned the next day to the same windy conditions and another postponement. Finally, on 21 August he pulled his car up, clambered into his shell immediately, and finished last in a four-man field.

The Canadian wrestlers, led by bantamweight Jim Trifunov, swept the gold medals. Trifunov, a bronze medal winner in the 1928 Olympics, recalled later that he was uncoached and learned the sport on a trial-and-error basis in a small room in the Regina Y.M.C.A. His was not an unusual story in the annals of Canadian athletes at the Games. The seven gold medals won by the wrestlers established a record that has never been equalled.

As the week ended the aura of friendly competition and feeling of "family" persisted. The *London Daily Express* of 19 August 1930 commented in an editorial:

> What British athlete, what British subject anywhere would not sooner participate in, and witness an Imperial sporting festival of this kind than become mixed in the bad blood and dubious standards and practices that mark the Olympic Games? Internationalism in sport has done anything rather than make people like each other.

At the closing banquet the tide of goodwill carried the representatives of the 11 nations to call for a British Empire Games Federation to continue the games on a four-year cycle.

The first president of the British Empire Games Federation was Lord Lonsdale, and his presentation cup of 1911 was melted down, recast in smaller versions and presented to the original 11 founding nations as mementoes of their courage and commitment. The ensuing years have shown nothing but growth and no diminution in the friendliness. There are now more officials (close to 500) than there were competitors in the 1930 Empire Games. The British Empire no longer exists, but the Commonwealth Games (which sprang from the British Empire Games) is bigger and more significant than ever as participants and spectators are learning this summer in Victoria, British Columbia, where the Friendly Games are being held again. ◆

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Myth-Making At Fort St. James

The search for historical 'truth'

By Frieda Esau Klippenstein

While historians in general have plenty of reason to reflect on how historic events are interpreted and realities constructed in order to suit specific purposes, perhaps public historians have more opportunity than most to encounter some of these issues on the ground. In my work as a fur-trade and native-sites historian for the Canadian Parks Service, one of my projects has been to study the role of the Carrier Indians in the fur trade at Fort St. James, British Columbia, where the nineteenth-century fur-trade post is now a national historic site. The Carrier Indians are an Athapaskan group who live in the mountainous north-central interior of the province on lake and river tributaries of the upper Skeena and Fraser rivers. In my study I came across an incident from the 1820s which is told over and over with a fascinating array of variations. An examination of various versions of this event and its aftermath show how it has been shaped and reshaped in telling — at the time, 100 years later, and today.

Both in the Carrier communities and in the history books, the event has acquired the qualities of a legend of sorts. It appears to be a pivotal one in the relations of the fur trade in what was then known as the district of New Caledonia, in present-day northern British Columbia. There the North West Company traders had established inland posts among the Carrier and Sekanie natives around the McLeod, Stuart, Fraser and Babine lakes beginning in 1805 through the efforts of Simon Fraser, James McDougall, and John Stuart. The traders pursued profits and exploration over a decade and a half despite the harshest of living conditions. In 1821 the North West Company amalgamated with its rival under the name of the Hudson's Bay Company, and the business of the district was reorganized under the rigourous administration of the new governor, George Simpson.

The incident brings together two characters famous in their separate circles: the Hudson's Bay Company clerk James Douglas (formerly of the North West Company), who went on to become the governor of the colony of British Columbia, and an influential Carrier chief and *deneza* (nobleman), Qua. Qua had became recognized as "fur trade chief" and as broker between the traders and the Carrier of the region soon after direct trade was established on the shores of Stuart Lake in 1806. The story, as it can be pieced together, begins in 1823 at Fort George, a trading post at the forks of the Fraser and Bulkley rivers. There two Hudson's Bay Company servants were killed by two Carrier when the master of the post, James M. Yale, was away. The Company was outraged and vowed to avenge the deaths. One of the Carrier was quietly killed under circumstances that remain a mystery, while the other remained at large for five years, evading the Company's efforts to capture him. Throughout New Caledonia the HBC men worked to discount rumours and defuse fears that they would take revenge on someone other than the particular Carrier in hiding. Indeed, the incident threatened to precipitate a cycle of indiscriminate killing and general warfare.

One day in early August 1828 the man was reported to be in the Nak'azdli Carrier village near Fort St. James while the district Chief Factor William Connolly was away. The many versions generally agree that the resident clerk James Douglas and his party pulled the man from hiding and killed him. Chief Qua, who had been absent at the time, became very angry upon his return, went with a party of Carrier to the post and confronted Douglas. Somehow Qua was appeased and he left the fort without further bloodshed, although relations were seriously strained after that. In response to the situation, Governor George Simpson paid a visit to the district and made attempts to restore peace to the

HBC Archives

"Sir George Simpson" and "James Douglas" enter Fort St. James in the 1928 pageant, a century after the controversial events of 1828.

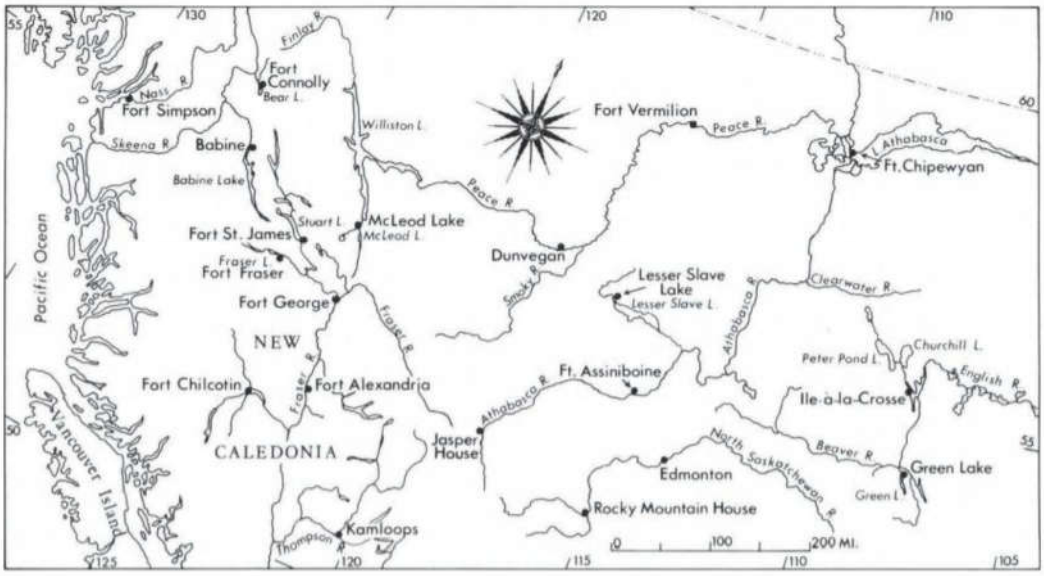
trade relations, and shortly after James Douglas was removed from New Caledonia.

While this is the basic storyline, particular versions of the story contribute a variety of different emphases. Some of the accounts underscore the treachery of the Carrier in their confrontation with Douglas. According to fur trader John McLean in his 1849 published memoirs, Qua "resolved to employ Indian stratagem," by proceeding to the fort alone, gaining admittance, conversing calmly about the matter so that "Mr. Douglas was led to believe that the matter could easily be arranged." When another knock was heard at the gate the chief is recorded to have said, "It is my brother ... he told me he intended to come and hear what you had to say on this business." When the gate was open "the whole Nekasly tribe" rushed in and overpowered Douglas.

Douglas's narrow escape is the focus of many of the accounts. A newly arrived Fort St. James journal writer recorded shortly after the event that the "old Rogue Qua, with as many other of his Tribe as he could muster, entered the Fort and made their way into the House all armed." Although Douglas tried to defend himself, he and his men were outnumbered. "And," the writer concluded, "nothing but the determination Mr. Douglas evinced of defending himself to the last, saved him from being pillaged and perhaps from being Killed." Likewise, in a version of the story by Oblate missionary and anthropologist A.G. Morice, Douglas is described as a hostage with a knife to his throat, and Qua's nephew begging Qua for permission to do the deed. "A word from 'old Qua' ..." wrote Morice, "would have cut short [Douglas's] incipient career and sent his ghost to the present abode of his ancestors."

In the accounts of Douglas's escape, Qua's restraint is often congratulated. In fact, an interesting contrast to the more common accounts of Douglas's "extreme peril" is a version by John Tod, a contemporary of Douglas who was in charge of another New Caledonia post at the time. According to Tod, the Carrier bound Douglas and his men only in order to subdue them:

> Mr. Douglas was first seized, bound and carried away to the mess room of the fort. All this time Douglas kept struggling and swearing, but what could he do. They laid him flat on the table; he kicked and plunged exhausting himself. The Chief looked at him, saying 'You are tired; now I can talk to you'. This only exasperated Mr. Douglas the more, and he renewed his struggle, damning and swearing, calling them big rascals etc.



Historian Charles Bishop, who wrote about the character and life of Qua (1980), wrote that Qua saved Douglas's life by calming the "angry mob" and asking his followers "to have pity on Douglas and not to shed any blood." Bishop attributed Qua's involvement in the scene as part of his duty and as face-saving: "... as chief, Kwah had little choice but to confront Douglas ... . Whether or not he actually meant Douglas any harm is difficult to say. He must have realized that if Douglas were killed, he himself could be killed." Bishop concluded that this ability to appraise the long term consequences of the situation was evidence of Qua's wisdom and leadership. This theme is reinforced by the sign on Qua's grave which declares, "Here Lie the Remains of Great Chief Kwah Born About 1755 Died Spring of 1840. He once had in his hands the life of James Douglas, but was great enough to refrain from taking it."

There is a rather romantic twist in a version which seems to have captured the imaginations of several writers. In this version Douglas is saved by the bravery of his wife, Amelia Connolly, daughter of a Cree woman and the Chief Factor of the New Caledonia district. These generally describe how she pleaded for Douglas, threw goods down from a balcony of sorts and thus won her husband back. Admiral Moresby, who met Douglas in Victoria in 1852 later gave this rendition:

> Douglas ... the centre of a horde of maddened Indians, was at his last struggle, when, like Pocahontas herself, an Indian girl, the daughter of a chief, tore her way to his side, held back the savages, and pleaded his cause with such passion that the red men granted his life to her entreaties. She lived to share his honours, and to become Lady Douglas, wife of the Governor and Commander-in-chief of British Columbia.

In variations of his story, credit for saving Douglas's life is given to "Nancy Boucher, the interpreter's wife", "the daughter of trader James McDougall", or to "the women of the post" in general.

Along a similar line, many of the accounts emphasize that Qua's motivation in the confrontation was for some material compensation for the affront. John Tod wrote that the Carrier came to the post to negotiate for "some food to give the friends of the dead man in return for the body," and "clothing, axes, tobacco, guns etc. for the father, mother, brother and sister of the deceased." He says that "Douglas agreed, was set free, and having promised, he gave the goods to quiet the matter." Archibald McDonald's report says simply that the Indians "all assembled, and made a clandestine entry into the Fort, and insisted upon getting a blanket."

While noting these variations in the renditions, it is interesting to ask whose purposes are served by them. Clearly to the Company the Fort George "murders" represented a kind of savagery and lawlessness that was threatening to get out of hand in New Caledonia, where the newcomers in small, isolated posts were vastly outnumbered by the Carrier, Sekanie and Chilcotin. Rarely is the Carrier referred to by name, which according to A.G. Morice was "Tzoelhnolle." Instead, the Company accounts celebrate the idea that the "murderer" or "the criminal" was finally brought to justice as if taking for granted the likelihood that this was an unjust, savage act. They imply that avenging the Fort George deaths was a necessary act which brought an end to the situation, effectively downplaying the volatile aftermath of Douglas's action. The versions of the story emphasizing

the possibility that the situation could be closed by paying compensation have the effect of trivializing and reducing Qua's anger and his action into a quest for practical, simple compensation afforded by a few store items. The versions emphasizing Douglas's narrow escape through the women's actions or other means make a good story, but also worked to give Douglas a certain legendary quality that may well have contributed to his later success as governor of the colony. This event was, after all, James Douglas's ticket out of Fort St. James. Derek Pethick in his book on Douglas (1969) says that before the confrontation "there seemed little sign that he was marked for greatness."

The written accounts are notably devoid of explanations or understanding of Carrier motivations and behaviour. Why the Carrier killed the two Fort George men in the first place, for instance, receives remarkably little attention. In their biography of James Douglas (1909), Robert H. Coats and R.E. Gosnell comment in reference to the killings at Fort George, "The motive of the deed is unrecorded." However, while the HBC correspondence and journals are vague on the topic, there is some suggestion that the action was related to improprieties or anxieties caused by newcomers marrying Carrier women. According to John Stuart, district Chief Factor at the time in 1823 and one of the founders of New Caledonia, the situation involved a Carrier woman who was recently taken as country wife by Mr. Yale, the absent master of the post, while, it appears, having a continuing connection to one of the Carrier men.

Although James Yale contradicted it, Stuart made an interesting report shortly after the killings at Fort George. He identified the Fort George natives as "the most peaceable and best disposed in the Department," and stated that he believed the killings "proceeded from fear and arose from the impulse of the moment." Apparently "the most creditable of the natives" had told him that:

> the evening preceding the murder one of the men Beaquort had discovered the principal perpetrator in

Indian chiefs greet "Sir George Simpson", Fort St. James, 1928. One Indian later commented "Them white people speak foolish".

HBC Archives

Indian chiefs dance during the pageant celebrations.

> criminal conversation [*i.e.* having sexual relations] with a woman Mr. Yale had in keeping and cautioned both to be more circumspect in future as in the event of his perceiving(?) any thing more of the kind he would inform Mr. Yale. [I]t appears that both got alarmed but in course of the night the young man returned accompanied by another and perpetrated the horrid deed.

Stuart reported that rather than fleeing, those connected with the two Carrier had shown judicious and conciliatory behaviour. They "had themselves buried the deceased and some of them encamped at the Fort to take care of the property until the arrival of Mr. George McDougall in the fall." They "obeyed the first summons issued by him on arrival and appeared without arms." Stuart emphasized that "not five pounds worth of property was taken by the whole of the natives including murderers and all, but the Guns and Ammunition they had secreted under the flooring under an apprehension [that they] might be turned against themselves and that general massacre would be committed on the arrival of our people in the fall."

Not surprisingly, the story of Qua and Douglas lives on in the Carrier communities, though also without much consensus. While the written accounts present the view that the deaths were a symptom of the general savagery and lawlessness of the Carrier, native versions of the story bring a completely different sense to it. The first recorded account from native informants was published by the Oblate missionary A.G. Morice in 1904. In it he graphically recorded an astonishing degree of brutality in this "justice," from the man being found and dragged out of Qua's lodge by Douglas and his men, hacked to death with garden hoes until he was "a shapeless jelly," and dragged by a rope back to the post to be offered to the dogs. A contemporary Carrier woman, whose version of this event was recorded in 1966, added that most of the men of the village were absent and that this gruesome scene occurred in the midst of the terrorized women and children of Qua's own and other families. In her version the fugitive was not simply "apprehended and killed," he was ripped from his desperate refuge — from under the blankets where a woman (perhaps one of Qua's wives) was lying, having recently given birth.

A statement in William Harmon's *Account of the Indians Living West of the Rocky Mountains* written years earlier (1811) may shed some light on Qua's response to this scene at his lodge. Harmon wrote:

> An Indian ... who has killed another, or been guilty of some other bad action, finds the house or tent of the chief a safe retreat, so long as he is allowed to remain there ... and if he should [be attacked] the chief would revenge the insult, in the same manner as if it were offered directly to himself ... The revenge ... would be to destroy the life of the offending person, or that of some of his near relations.

Douglas had apprehended the man in Qua's lodge. In hiding there, he was considered as being under Qua's

protection. It becomes understandable that to the Carrier, it was Douglas who was lawless and savage in this event.

Nick Prince, local Carrier historian from Fort St. James, and great-great-grandson of Qua, tells a version of the story that is an intriguing contrast to the written accounts. According to him, it was not Qua or Amelia Connolly who saved James Douglas's life. In fact, Qua was so angry that Douglas had "taken the law into his hands" that he entered the house with the clear resolve to kill him. While Douglas's wife *did* attempt to compensate for the deed by "throwing stuff down," Qua forbade anyone to accept the goods. According to Prince, it was "two young guys," Qua's grandsons, who stopped Qua from killing Douglas. They did this because in Carrier custom it was not for *him* to kill — that was the job of the warrior chief. If Qua had killed Douglas, he would have been banished by the Carrier communities and he would have lost his hereditary title. It was to protect him from this, that his grandsons stopped him — a not illogical act, as they may well have stood to benefit from this title some day. Apparently before the present sign on Qua's grave there was one, in Carrier syllabics, that named the two young men who kept Qua from killing "one man," who remained uncelebrated and unnamed.

Shortly after the confrontation between Douglas and Qua, Governor George Simpson had his chance to solidify the HBC's interpretation of the incident in a way that suited Company purposes. The record of Simpson's visit to Fort St. James and his interaction with the Carrier survives in the HBC journals and in the diary of an eyewitness, Archibald McDonald, who was part of Simpson's entourage in 1828. McDonald recorded that on 17 September with "the most imposing manner we could, for the sake of the Indians" the group made a ceremonial entrance into Fort St. James, with the governor on horseback, guns saluting, the British flag flying, the bugle sounding, and a piper in full Highland costume playing *"Si coma leum cogadh na shea"* (Peace: or War, if you will it otherwise). A few days later (20 September) McDonald wrote:

> The principal Indians of the place have been sent for, and introduced to the Governor as the Great Chief of the Country. After exhibiting before them our various musical performances, etc., ... an address was made to them through Mr. Connolly and the Linguist [Interpreter], in which the Governor laid great stress upon the conduct of the Carrier of late.

McDonald recorded that in his "harangue," Simpson brought up several recent events involving grave "mis-

HBC Archives

Carrier Indians enter the fort, September 1928.

conduct" of the Carrier, including several "murders" of Company men, and most recently, the rebellion they displayed when one of these murders was avenged.

Apparently, the speech then became a series of threats. McDonald wrote:

> The Governor could not do less than deprecate such proceedings. He represented to them how helpless their condition would be at this moment were he and all his people to enter upon hostilities against them, that a partial example had already been made of the guilty parties, but that the next time the Whites should be compelled to imbrue their hands in the blood of Indians, it would be a general sweep; that the innocent would go with the guilty, and that their fate would be deplorable indeed ... and that it was hard to say when we would stop; never, in any case, until the Indians gave the most unqualified proof of their good conduct in future. The chief that headed the party which entered the fort in the summer was pointed at with marked contempt, and it was only Mr. Douglas's intercession and forgiveness that saved him from further indignities.

The speech was closed with a glass of rum, a little tobacco, a shake of the hand for the Carrier chief and the *Song of Peace* by the piper. Clearly this was a confrontation of powers. The Company was surely realizing how helpless *they* would be if all the natives of the area decided to enter upon hostilities against them. Simpson was attempting to put the Carrier in their place — a place of submission and co-operation.

Whether the gradual dissipation of hostilities that followed had more to do with this rather theatrical display or the conciliatory nature of Qua is impossible to know. But one hundred years later the theatre returned to Fort St. James in the form of the "Sir George Simpson Centennial Celebration." At this celebration, held at Fort St. James on 17 September 1928, the significance and meaning of Simpson's visit was again recast and elaborated on. There were hurried renovations to the old fur trade fort, an impressive group of visiting dignitaries, and a large gathering of natives from various reaches of New Caledonia. There was a costumed pageant celebrating Simpson's ceremonial entrance into New Caledonia. Following that were speeches, native dances and games such as horse racing, and the unveiling of a plaque at Simpson Pass on the high road from Banff to Windermere, British Columbia.

Clues to the meanings and purposes of the celebration are revealed in the scripts of the various speeches given by the visiting dignitaries, later printed in a commemorative pamphlet of the event. None of the speeches mentioned Simpson's specific business in Fort St. James, focussing instead on the general goals of Simpson's 1828 voyage from York Factory to the Pacific Slope. The addresses celebrated Simpson as "a pioneer," a "great statesman" and an "empire builder." Charles V. Sale, Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, and others dwelt on the "courage, endurance and fortitude" of Simpson and the other Hudson's Bay Company men. According to R. Randolph Bruce, Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia, they were "sentinels ... who at great self-sacrifice tenaciously held this great domain." Fort St. James was presented as "the outpost of an empire; the visible sign of British occupation; [and] a centre of government." The essence of the messages given that day were encapsulated by Lieutenant-Governor Bruce who declared, "To-day's pageant gives us courage for the future." Bruce expressed confidence that in the "new era" that was "dawning" the Hudson's Bay Company would "lead the van in the march of progress, thus helping to fulfill that great destiny which a benign Providence has provided for this great and glorious country."

Interestingly enough, none of the speeches mentioned the Fort George murders or the incident between Qua and Douglas. Several of them did, however, mention the relationship with "our good friends the Indians," Governor Sale described the relationship between the Company and "the Indian and Esquimaux population of Canada" as "for many generations all that both sides could desire ... Between us and them," he said, "is a common interest in the good of the fur trade, the country, and the people. This spirit of goodwill and friendship has never been broken ... Since we both desire the same good, we shall never quarrel." Oblate missionary Father Coccola addressed the native guests directly, calling them "to carry on, to commemorate the work started so many years ago," and " to follow the spirit displayed by [Sir George Simpson]." Judge F.W. Howay, of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, referred most directly to the events a hundred years earlier, saying:

> Whenever an opportunity offered, Governor Simpson called the Indians together and spoke to them of the trade, congratulating them, if they deserved it, upon their good conduct, or threatening to withdraw the post if they were indolent or criminal. He made them feel that the Company was really interested — as indeed it was — in their welfare, and that co-operation would be mutually beneficial.

At the plaque unveiling, Judge Howay spoke more of Simpson's "scrupulously fair" treatment of the Indians, emphasizing that when an Indian "committed an offence," Simpson "made the punishment to fall upon the individual transgressor and not upon his tribe, thus teaching the ... new doctrine of personal responsibility."

After the 1928 Centenary, the headlines in the *Victoria Colonist* read, "Great page in story of B.C. related at pageant and historic ceremony," and the *Victoria Times* announced "History lives again in

HBC Archives

Governor Sale's address, September 1928. Onlookers are (seated, left to right), G.W. Allen, Helen Mackenzie, R. Randolph Bruce, Rev. Coccola; and (standing, left to right) Chief Factor Angus Brabant, John Hosie, A.K. Graham, Judge F.W. Howay.

pageant," and "Celebration at Fort St. James great success." At this event, myths were expressed and perpetuated that did not reflect the reality of the natives at the gathering. Why would they have been interested in celebrating the dawning of a "new era" where the Hudson's Bay Company "leads in the march of progress?" Why would they "follow the spirit displayed by George Simpson" or celebrate movement towards that "great destiny" of a "Providence" who likely did not seem to them so "benign?" According to Nick Prince, his grandfather, one of the relatively few Carrier in attendance who understood English, responded to the speeches of the 1928 Centenary with the comment, "them white people speak foolish." While the commemorative pamphlet would have us believe that native people gathered from great distances for this event, Prince remembers hearing that the Carrier each received fifty cents to take part in "the play," but they were not there primarily because of that event — they had gathered from Takla, Babine, McLeod Lake, Hazelton and elsewhere for a potlatch in town which, of course, they would have kept quiet because the anti-potlatch law was still in effect. Even the dances and games that were photographed as an attraction of the centenary celebration were actually a scheduled part of the potlatch.

This is not to suggest that by giving an aboriginal person's version of the story, we have now "gotten to the bottom of it." There is no reason to believe that any of us are free of the tendency to "invent traditions," or shape with conscious or unconscious purposes our version of an event. But it is a reminder to the historian to be critical of sources and aware of purposes. It is a reminder that the historical interpretations that survive in the mainstream are written by those in positions of power. In the telling, events can be cast and recast, by different parties and by the same party over time. At the 1828 gathering, Simpson made speeches to the native people, intending to effect a more peaceful relationship between the Carriers and the traders. But it used the tactic of threatening them into submission. A hundred years later, the visit of George Simpson was commemorated and "rewritten" as a positive event, one worth celebrating. It applauded the conquest of the land while emphasizing the congenial relationships between traders and natives. The Carrier were being asked to commemorate a person who had humiliated them and to celebrate the anniversary of an event which was not in any way a happy one for them. Besides commemorating what happened in 1828, the Centenary celebration also in a way paralleled it in purpose — the 1928 event, too, was about fostering peace and eliciting co-operative behaviour from the Carrier.

The meaning of historical events and experiences is continually rewritten. The recorded events from literary traditions are labelled "history," and those from oral traditions, "myths." It becomes increasingly clear to me that writing the history of native peoples with disregard for their own perspectives on their lives can very easily make the university trained, public historian another of "them white people" who "speak foolish." ◆

This article was first presented as a paper at the Fifth Biennial Rupert's Land Colloquium in Winnipeg in February 1992. Frieda Esau Klippenstein is an historian with the Canadian Parks Service, Calgary.

KATHLEEN PARLOW

A LIFE IN MUSIC

By Hubert G. Mayes

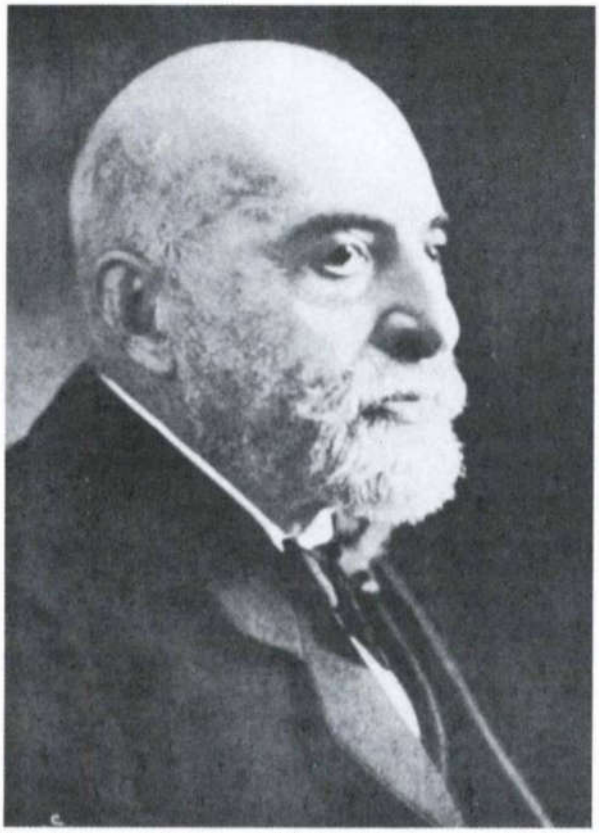
On 27 September 1906 a sixteen-year-old Canadian girl and her mother stepped off the train in St. Petersburg. They spoke no Russian, had no relatives or close friends in the city and were living on borrowed money. The girl was Kathleen Parlow. Already a highly accomplished violinist, she had arrived in Russia to study with the master teacher, Leopold Auer. The year she spent in St. Petersburg opened the doors to an extraordinary career in music. She became a performing artist of international stature, and as a distinguished teacher left a rich legacy to her homeland. The story of Kathleen Parlow's Russian adventure is appealing, and for that reason alone it is worth retelling. In addition, it may arouse interest in the life of this remarkable Canadian who, several decades after her death, is slowly fading from memory.

Kathleen Parlow was born in 1890 in Calgary, where her father worked for the Hudson's Bay Company. Charlie Parlow was idolized by his daughter, who shared his affinity for Indian life and adored his rich fund of Indian stories and legends. One evening, however, when Kathleen kissed her father, he pushed her away so roughly that she staggered and fell. The next day, without saying good-bye, her mother Minnie left her husband forever, taking Kathleen with her to San Francisco, where she had relatives. The next year a letter from Charlie revealed that he had rejected his daughter's affectionate gesture because he was dying of tuberculosis contracted from a native woman. He begged his wife's forgiveness and asked her to bring Kathleen to see him, but Minnie was determined that he would never touch the little girl again.

The departure for the United States took place in 1894, when Kathleen was only four. Not long after her arrival in San Francisco she began her violin studies with a cousin. Later she became a pupil of Henry Holmes, an English violinist who, after a successful career as a soloist in Europe, had been a professor at the Royal College of Music in London. When Kathleen was fourteen, Holmes felt that she should go to England, but the Parlows had no money. Fortunately, a church raised enough funds to buy her a good violin, and a wealthy patron provided financial assistance and tickets.

The mother and daughter arrived in London in 1905. Kathleen performed at several musicales and played the Beethoven concerto in the Bechstein Hall. Some months later she played for members of the Royal Family and had a successful engagement with the London Symphony Orchestra. As she and her mother were preparing to return to San Francisco they received word that Henry Holmes had died. Though Kathleen was offered various scholarships in Europe, she was determined to study with the renowned teacher from St. Petersburg, Leopold Auer, who happened to be in London at the time. Kathleen auditioned for him and was accepted as a pupil. But the Parlows still had no financial resources. At one point, in fact, they were down to their last five shillings, and Minnie had had to find a job to keep them going. Auer told Kathleen that she must find a rich friend to lend her money. She thought of Lord Strathcona (Donald A. Smith), High Commissioner for Canada in Great Britain. She knew that Lord Strathcona had been a Hudson's Bay Company man (actually he was still the Governor of the Company), and might even have known her father. Without telling her mother, she asked for an appointment. Here is her own account of that meeting:

> Lord Strathcona had come to one of my concerts, and he had come to my dressing room afterward. He said that Canada was proud of me. He was such a dear old Santa Claus sort of person. Just the same I was scared to death, but I just blurted it out. I asked if he would lend me the money to go to Russia to study with Auer. He smiled and said, 'Come with your mamma and I think I will. But first I would like you to play for my friend Sir Alexander Mackenzie at the Royal Academy of Music.'



Leopold Auer, violin virtuoso and the most famous teacher of his day.

Sir Alexander must have been in a bad mood on the day of the appointment; he scolded Minnie for appealing to Lord Strathcona (a surprise to her), and upset Kathleen so much that she played badly. Mackenzie told her that she had no talent whatsoever, and that he would certainly tell his friend to keep his money for better causes. Fortunately, Lord Strathcona had in the meantime met Leopold Auer, who was loud in his praise of the talented Canadian girl. Strathcona told the Parlows: "I'm sorry about my dear friend Mackenzie, but I'm putting Auer's opinion ahead of his." He took out his cheque book and wrote a cheque for £200, roughly the equivalent of ten thousand Canadian dollars today. "Don't worry about repayment," he told Kathleen, "unless of course you become very rich." Kathleen wrote many years later that Lord Strathcona never allowed her to repay the loan.

Kathleen was not a prolific writer, but near the end of her life she gave a vivid account of the time she spent in St. Petersburg in an article entitled "Student Days in Russia," published in the *Canadian Music Journal* in 1961. After telling about her London performances, the audition with Auer, and the loan from Lord Strathcona, Kathleen relates that she and her mother were overwhelmed with letters from friends who, aghast at their decision to go to Russia, begged them to stay in "a civilized country." Lord Strathcona had told them that they might not be able to get visas. There had been "Red Sunday," the bombing of the Grand Duke Serge and great unrest and rioting. But the two women, undeterred, left Eisenach, where Kathleen had been taking lessons from Auer, boarded a train in Berlin, and travelled to St. Petersburg.

Not long after they had settled into their lodgings, a messenger arrived to tell Kathleen that she had been enrolled in the Conservatory, the first foreigner ever admitted. She went to her first class "shaking from weakness and fright." The room was filled with forty-four teen-aged boys. When Auer introduced her, they all rose and applauded. Kathleen writes of the joy her lessons gave her:

> First there was the preparation for the lessons themselves and then listening to that remarkable class with the aptitude for the violin one and all showed. Auer always said, "They are born with a fiddle in their hands." During the winter practically the entire violin repertoire was covered, and I sat in that room twice a week from two until six and drank it all in, coming away utterly exhausted but happy, and how much I learned from hearing all those lessons! Curiously enough all that wonderful playing never discouraged me but only goaded me on to work and try to play as well as they did.

But life was not all practice, attendance at classes, and private lessons with Auer: Minnie and Kathleen met many charming people through the kindness of Auer, who was solo violinist to the Tsar "and knew everyone." Then they were "taken up" by the English Colony. Kathleen devotes a paragraph to this helpful group:

> They were descended from the weavers and other craftsmen Peter the Great brought to Russia to start new industries. My first public appearance was under the Colony's wing — a concert they were giving to welcome the new Ambassador from England, Sir Arthur Nicholson. I must say never did I have a warmer or more enthusiastic audience than at that concert. The friends we made that evening had a great deal to do with our happiness and well-being in Petersburg. Completely bi-lingual as they all were, they helped us in many ways, taking us shopping and telling us of the interesting sights we should not miss. We had been warned not to discuss politics with Russians, but our English Colony friends were able to let us know what went on; they adored Russia and Russians but they were still very British at heart.

A member of the Colony was able to explain a rather disturbing local scene to the two Canadians:

We had been unhappy at seeing groups of peasants, very pale and poorly dressed, herded along the street by soldiers with fixed bayonets, with weeping women following. Of course we immediately thought of Siberia, until one English girl laughed at us and we found out these were just ordinary drunks being rounded up twice or three times a week, on their way to court for either a few days in jail or merely a fine. Prisoners for Siberia were always taken away at night in the utmost secrecy.

That winter Kathleen gave nine solo recitals in Petrograd (as it was then called), and with her mother went to Helsingfors (Helsinki), where she gave five concerts with a symphony orchestra and met the composer Jan Sibelius.

A paragraph on food is introduced at this point in the "student days" article. The Canadians were often invited out to dinner — fortunately, since the food they were getting in their lodgings was "pretty awful." When it was inedible, they could fill the gaps with caviar, which was cheap and nourishing. Kathleen liked Russian cooking (at its best). She had one reservation, however.

One thing only was on my black list and that was herring. That dislike came through a ride in a crowded street-car. A very unwashed Muzhik stood right in front of us carrying a newspaper parcel with the head of a very dead herring protruding, and a long procession of shiny brown insects parading up the seams of the man's coat.

With a keen appreciation for the humour of incongruity, Kathleen tells another anecdote. One day while she and her mother were trying to deal with a tremendous colony of bedbugs they had just discovered behind a small rug on the wall, they heard a great uproar outside:

I ran to the window and saw a troop of very gorgeous mounted soldiers, a huge carriage and an escort bringing up the rear. Stepping out of this Cinderella coach was a very elegant officer with much gold braid, medals on his chest and white cocks' feathers on his helmet and a crowd watching.

A second glance showed me the British Ambassador coming to call in state upon two rather confused bug-hunters. He had come to see how we were making out and also to invite us to dinner at the Embassy — the first of many such delightful occasions.

Soon after this, Kathleen received a command to play at the Oldenburg Palace for the Grand Duke Michael. Her description makes turn-of-the-century Calgary seem very far away, not only in time and space but also in ambience:

Kathleen Parlow's St. Petersburg: The Nevsky Prospect, the city's principal street.

Kathleen and her mother with a young friend during a concert tour of Japan.

A carriage was sent for us and we were met and welcomed at the entrance by the host and hostess. Later we found out that this was an honour usually reserved for royalty. The inner hall with the wide circular staircase was decorated on every step by growing trees of white lilac; all the reception rooms had masses of roses, orchids and every exotic flower one could imagine. The contrast between the raw winter weather outside and this fairyland indoors was startling indeed.

She played for an hour or more, and as though this were not enough for one evening, she played at 11:30 at the Naval College for 500 cadets. The Admiral of the Fleet presented her with a medal (founded by Peter the Great) which could only be worn by admirals.

A few weeks later the young artist was invited to play for the Tsar and Tsarina, but the Court officials were worried about the pianist she might bring with her. Kathleen explains the problem:

The Conservatory was a hot-bed of young and eager revolutionists and neither Glazounoff nor Auer dared to guarantee what these young rebels might do when brought face to face with the Tsar. There was a first class pianist called Josef Schwartz, with whom I had played, but the top brass decided that since he was a Jew this would not be possible. Auer was furious, but there was nothing anyone could do. Auer himself had become a Russian subject and joined the Greek Church when he married his Russian Princess. It was a great disappointment to me, especially as some weeks afterwards the Grand Duke Constantine (a patron of the Conservatory) asked me why I did not let him know. He would have arranged it all for me.

In the spring Kathleen was engaged for concerts in Riga, Mitau, Libau, Moscow and Copenhagen. The conductor in Copenhagen was enraged because the audience and orchestra acclaimed the young violinist much more warmly than himself. She received "at least ten huge bouquets — these from friends and well-wishers in the audience — and without signals the orchestra arose at my eighth recall, applauding violently, and the brass meanwhile giving me an ear-splitting fanfare — without orders!"

A few months later Kathleen learned with horror that she was to appear in Moscow with the same conductor in a performance of the Brahms Concerto. To her surprise she was greeted with great affection and was given "a helpful and perfect accompaniment." It was a riddle that she never solved. In the course of her career she never again had an experience of this kind. She played with many of the world's most eminent conductors and found them all helpful and polite.

The two Canadians found St. Petersburg a fascinating city with its wide streets, parks, beautiful buildings, shops and thieves' market. They enjoyed "the imposing Neva River with its huge bridges, and then how exciting to walk down the Nevsky Prospect (the principal street) and watch every type of person from peasants in their sheep-skin coats and high boots to the very elegant and obviously rich with carriages, wonderful horses, troikas and small two-person droschkies. The troikas intrigued us with the three horses abreast (the middle one trotting and the two outsiders galloping). We thought that must be a very uncomfortable and bumpy ride but when we were taken out in one of these we found it very smooth going".

Going to church in Petrograd must have been a striking contrast with anything they had known before. Many decades later Kathleen's memories were still vivid:

We went as often as we could to the services at the two Cathedrals — especially to St. Isaac where the *a cappella* singing was beautiful beyond belief. Such glorious voices — especially the basses — and the perfection of the intonation was joy. The Easter Mass was the highlight of the year as regards the beautiful singing and the whole setting. Those great pillars of lapis lazuli, and many other semi-precious stones from the Caucasus and Ural mountains, the solid silver railing between the High Altar and the people, priceless icons set with the precious stones of all kinds, ropes of pearls decorating the statues of the Madonnas, and those beautiful old stained glass windows, all these things added to the exquisite murals, made a scene never to be forgotten.

A paragraph is devoted to the art galleries of the city, both public and private. One gets the impression that the enthusiasm of Kathleen and her mother must have given them a special rapport with the Russian people. After writing about the rich citizens and their exquisite private collections, Kathleen says:

When they found how we appreciated these wonderful things we were invited to see many of their treasures — even royalty asked us to visit their galleries. They would open their huge vaults and bring out more and more unbelievable things by the hour. I often wonder if any of those wonderful and irreplaceable paintings and objets d'art still exist.

At the end of the article Kathleen mentions with gratitude some of the many great musicians she met in Russia. These men took pains to give her a clear picture of their own studies and backgrounds and told her anecdotes of their masters and the great performers of former generations. The men she speaks of were world-renowned artists such as Chaliapin and Rachmaninoff. That they would generously share their experiences with a sixteen-year-old girl whose career had scarcely begun suggests that they fully respected what she had

already achieved and the great promise she showed for the future.

In the summer of 1907, as the year of study in St. Petersburg was drawing to a close, Kathleen played the Glazunov violin concerto at the International Musical Festival in Ostend. The composer, who was to conduct the orchestra himself, insisted that the soloist must be the artist of his choice, the sixteen-year-old Kathleen Parlow. This demand greatly displeased the organizers, but the performance electrified the audience and impressed the critics.

Kathleen was formally launched on her professional career by a highly successful recital in October, 1907 before an audience of critics in Berlin. A concert tour of northern Europe followed, then concerts in Holland and Germany and an important appearance in London. Tours of the British Isles, concerts in New York and a tour of Canada were undertaken in 1909 and 1910. An American tour ended in 1911 after some eighty concerts. The critic of the *New York Herald* summed up the tour by stating: "Kathleen Parlow the young Canadian violinist is now a world celebrity ... In her performances she has not been judged as a woman but as an artist. After hearing her marvellous performances of Beethoven, Brahms, Wieniawski and Tschaikovsky concertos, the men in the profession have declared that she is today one of the phenomena of the musical world." The designation "Canadian violinist" was always used in reviews, and this, as her biographer says, "confused a few people who thought she lived in Canada [rather than England] and it annoyed Californians who pointed out that she had come to them at the age of five." However, her family on both sides had lived in Canada for generations, and both she and her mother felt strongly that the Canadian label was appropriate.

Concerts in Russia and other European countries, the United States, Canada, Asia and Mexico confirmed Kathleen's status as an international star. In 1929, however, her health as well as financial considerations led her to give up the strenuous life of a touring artist and move to California. During a large part of the 1930s she lectured and played at Mills College in Oakland. In 1941, while she was living and teaching in New York, she was invited to come to Toronto to become a member of the staff of the Royal Conservatory of Music. For more than twenty years, until her death in 1963, Kathleen Parlow was a pre-eminent figure in Canadian music. She gave countless recitals, performances with symphony orchestras and radio broadcasts. She appeared not only as a soloist but also as a member of the prestigious Parlow String Quartet. In addition, she was a distinguished lecturer.

Calgary had reason to be proud of her — and was. The city had played no role in her musical develop-

Kathleen Parlow, the young virtuoso.

Kathleen Parlow in later life.

ment, but it was her birthplace and her home for the first four years of her life. It is not surprising then that when her first concert tour of North America brought her to Calgary in 1910 she was given special acclaim. Her biographer recounts what took place:

> They stayed with Senator and Mrs. Loughheed, and Kathleen played in the Shriners' Hall to an audience of six hundred and thirty-eight Calgarians. *The Morning Albertan* reported: "The celebrated violinist Kathleen Parlow was well received last night by her native town. Miss Parlow was wearing a handsome gown of green velvet. Time and again the audience rose to its feet to demand encores. Time after time Miss Parlow had to bow her acknowledgments with infinite sweetness and gave three encores. Miss Parlow was rushed with admirers and received quantities of flowers... ."

The following year Kathleen and her mother were back in Calgary in the course of a second Canadian tour. It was another triumph:

> To Calgary again, this time with a crowd of familiar faces to greet them at the station. The concert went very well with almost too much applause. Huge bouquets of flowers were brought up to her by two pretty little girls. During their three days in Calgary they were entertained by the Canadian Club and the the Women's Musical Club.

Relatives had been turning up at other Canadian cities, and Calgary was no exception. One of these relatives, Dr. George Lafferty, took them to dinner, and another, an old-timer known simply as Uncle Johnny, offered to drive them to the site of the old fort. They declined because, as the biographers says, "neither Kathleen nor her mother wanted to stir up bitter memories."

In 1956, forty-six years after the first visit, Alberta had another opportunity to honour Kathleen Parlow. She was to receive the National Award in Music at the Banff School of Fine Arts on July 20:

> Her companions in honour were fishing writer Roderick Haig-Brown, who received the award in letters, and Eric Ross Arthur, the candidate for the award in painting and the related arts. It was pleasant not to have to make a speech. Professor Arthur had been elected for that function. All Kathleen had to do was sit on the platform between two gentlemen, looking distinguished in a gown of black chiffon trimmed with sequins. In the low-cut neck she wore the diamond necklace given her by Queen Maud of Norway.

Alberta was to be the scene of one more important event in her life, this one disastrous. In April 1960, while adjudicating at a music festival in Calgary, she tripped over a lamp cord in her hotel room and fell. At the hospital it was discovered that the humerus had been pulled from her left shoulder. She was flown to Toronto, where she was operated on by one of the few surgeons in Canada capable of repairing the serious damage. That she was able to overcome the pain and debilitating effects of this accident is evidence of her strength of will. Before long she was giving lectures, and on 23 January 1961, at the age of 71, she and pianist Clifford von Kuster gave a memorable recital to a capacity audience in London, Ontario. She was on familiar ground because in 1959, when she was 69, she had begun a new chapter in her career — as head of the strings department in the College of Music at the University of Western Ontario.

Kathleen Parlow died in Oakville, Ontario, where she had gone to visit a friend. Getting off the bus she fell and broke a hip. She appeared to be recovering when complications set in. She died of a heart attack on 19 August 1963. Her will contained instructions that her estate — including her Guarnerius del Gesû violin — be used to provide scholarships in the String Department of the Faculty of Music at the University of Toronto for aspiring students to whom funds would not otherwise be available. These scholarships are still being awarded.

Kathleen Parlow's solo recordings, as well as records made by her quartet, are unfortunately few in number. Another regret is that the solo performances were recorded before techniques were advanced enough to do justice to her artistry. For those who are interested, a list of the recordings is readily available in the *Encyclopedia of Music in Canada.*

The story of Kathleen Parlow's life was written a few years after her death by her cousin Maida Parlow French and published under the title *Kathleen Parlow: A Portrait* (The Ryerson Press, 1967). Sir Ernest MacMillan began his foreword to the biography with these words: "No Canadian performing artist enjoyed a more distinguished career than the late Kathleen Parlow." Few would dispute this claim, but even more important to us now is that her contribution to the musical life of Canada continues in her scholarships for string players, in the technical skill and interpretive knowledge imparted to her students and in the enriched lives of those who heard her perform. ◆

Writer Hubert G. Mayes, a frequent contributor to "The Beaver", is also a student of the violin.

THE NEW JERUSALEM

Jewish pioneers on the prairies

By Abraham Arnold

When Canada was being considered as a haven for some of the Russian Jews who fled Czarist persecution in 1882, it was intended from the outset that most of them would be sent to the West to become homesteaders. With this in mind some 350 of the first 500 Jews who came to Canada were immediately sent to Winnipeg, where most of the 150 men among them expected to take up homesteads in short order. Two years passed however before land was assigned for the Jews.

Immigration agents at once began sending negative reports to Ottawa about the Jews, but the *Manitoba Free Press,* in June 1882, criticized the government for its failure to assist the Jews in their land quest. The *Free Press* predicted the newcomers would find other occupations, which most did, thus losing interest in homesteading.

Nevertheless in the spring of 1884 Father of Confederation Alexander Galt, who had been Canadian High Commissioner in London until 1883, was still trying to get land for the Jews who remained keen to try farming. Galt wrote the Minister of the Interior that the London Mansion House Committee, sponsor of the Jewish immigrants, wanted homesteads for 40 to 50 of the families sent to Winnipeg to test "the suitability of these people for agriculture." He said he had "adequate" funds available and urged the desirability of placing the Jews in one locality "as was done with the Mennonites and Scotlanders."

Even after a site was confirmed and 27 families were en route to the assigned land, near Moosomin, Galt was still discussing with the government the conditions under which the Jews would be settled.

Soon after they arrived at their homesteads, in mid-May 1884, non-Jewish neighbors dubbed the Jewish settlement "New Jerusalem" but this name was hardly a harbinger of success. The promising start of the first summer faded, as winter arrived, into a long series of difficulties for which they were unprepared.

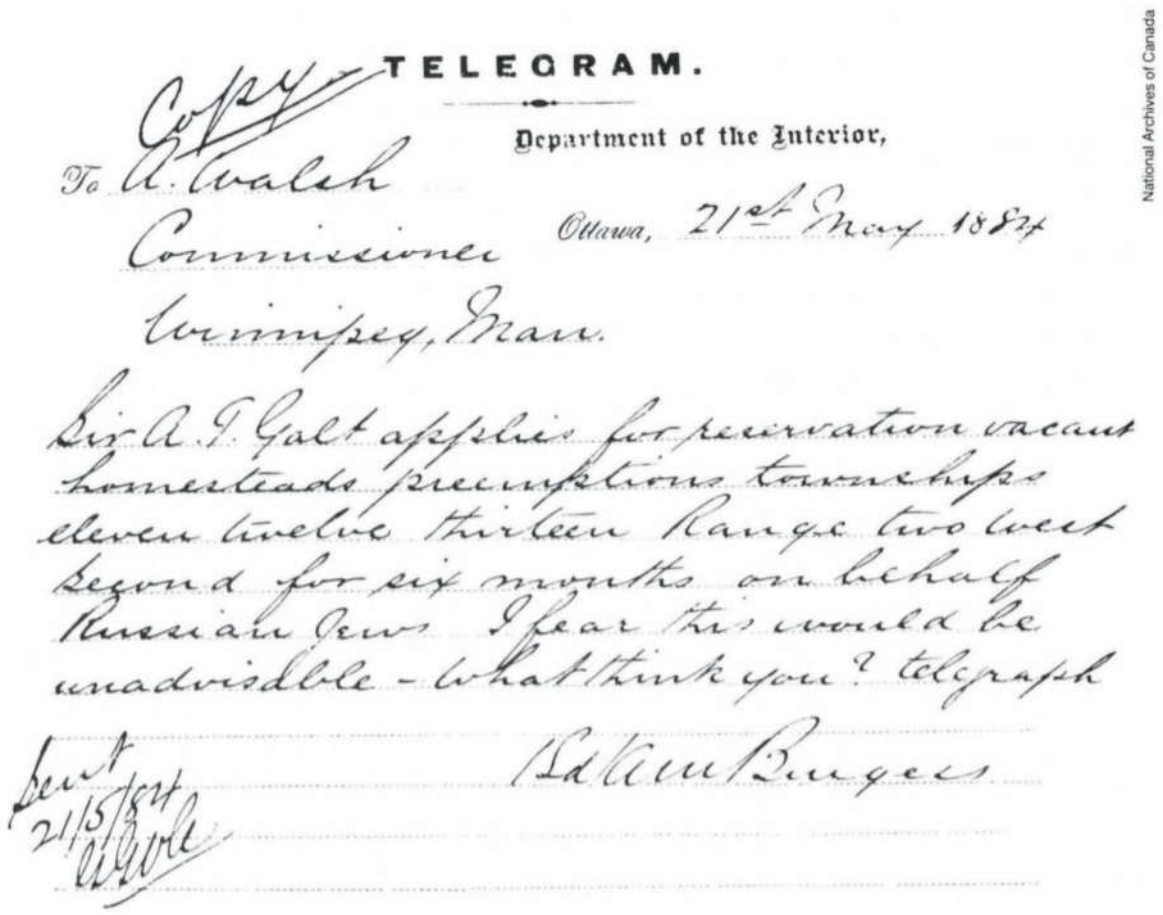
At about that time experienced Scottish crofters in the same district had similar problems. Neither the crofters, the Jews, nor another settlement group of East End Londoners were prepared for three years of bad crops, in addition to poor market conditions, which affected them all equally in the years 1884, 1885 and 1886.

At this time private colonization companies that had undertaken to establish settlers on the land were also failing their obligations, and pleading "external circumstances beyond their control." By July, 1885 these companies were memorializing the Privy Council for relief because of "unexpected and insuperable difficulties."

At Moosomin, however, the New Jerusalemites were still hoping for their first successful harvest. They had likely not heard of the Privy Council, but they were learning first hand about the difficulties of settlement in the West.

The reaction of the Jews to their initial failure was different from would-be homesteaders of other origins. When the immigrants were Mennonite farmers or Scottish crofters, or the Ukrainian peasants who came later, Ottawa was confident that they would stay on the land since farming was their tradition and they knew no other calling. The Jews were prepared to give homesteading a serious effort but if they encountered repeated failure they could not and would not stay on the land. The Jews may have been imbued with the "back to the land" ideal, but they had not been tied to the land like those of the peasant class. Jews had a more varied cultural background than other immigrants and were, by tradition, more mobile and more versatile.

When Alexander Galt agreed to assist the settlement of refugee Jews in Western Canada, one may assume he felt some sympathy for them in the knowledge of the persecution which had caused them to leave Russia. It is understandable however, that he did not undertake to assist the Mansion House project for purely altruistic motives. He was after all, a supporter of Macdonald's "National Policy" and a staunch nineteenth-century free enterpriser. He felt that the encouragement of homestead settlement by poor Russian Jews would help bring financial investments to the West by some of the wealthy European Jews. He certainly had far more in



TELEGRAM.

Department of the Interior,

Copy

To A. Walsh
Commissioner
Winnipeg, Man.

Ottawa, 21st May 1884

Sir A. T. Galt applies for reservation vacant homesteads pre-emptions townships eleven twelve thirteen Ranges two west second for six months on behalf Russian Jews I fear this would be inadvisable - what think you? telegraph

A. M. Burgess

Sent 21/5/84

National Archives of Canada

There was little enthusiasm in official circles for the Jewish immigration proposal, as this telegram from A.M. Burgess of the Department of the Interior indicates.

common with the Montagues and the Rothschilds of the Mansion House Committee than he did with the Weidmans, the Lechtziers and the other Russian Jews who tried to become homesteaders near Moosomin.

Probably this is why in May 1886 he expressed concern, not for the crop failures encountered by the "New Jerusalem" settlers, but for the fact that they "united in a general refusal" to sign for cash advances received. He wrote to the Minister of the Interior that:

> The conduct of these people is the worse because the committee have been most kind to them, having forgiven all the arrears of interest till May 1, instant, and only requiring the principle in ten years with 5 per-cent interest.

Galt warned that failure to settle this matter satisfactorily: "will close the door upon all further effort on the part of the friends of the Jews in Europe."

Alexander Galt may have been satisfied with the "kindness" of the Mansion House committee but the London Committee was less generous than the sponsor of the Scottish crofters. The latter received start-up loans of $500 to $600 each, while the original loans to the Jews were between $259 and $476.

Interior Minister Thomas White advised Galt that, in fact, the 27 Jewish settlers had signed for the first loans to a total of $10,521 and the Mansion House Committee had been granted liens for this amount. The refusal to sign was only for the later loans, for clothing provisions and seed grain, given after 1 January 1886. Further acknowledgements could not be compelled because the law stated an acknowledgement must be voluntary if a lien was to be granted.

The refusal to sign for the new advances might be seen as a self-defence measure in reaction to the repeated crop failures. Were the Jewish farmers doing anything more serious than the colonization companies who defaulted and petitioned the Privy Council for relief?

By early 1888 the situation of the Jews at Moosomin had deteriorated even further and Alexander Galt declared:

> The Jewish colony at Moosomin is a failure. The

Jews have sold their crops, the cattle I gave them and turned to their natural avocation for peddling.

His concern now was for the Mansion House Committee "who have expended about £50,000 on these vagabonds" and he inquired whether the acknowledgements registered in Ottawa would give the London committee "any claim on the land." In writing to A.M. Burgess, secretary of the Commission on Dominion Lands, Galt brought into question his own motives towards the Jews when he confessed: "... from the outset I protested against the experiment as I never thought they would make farmers."

Galt's Jewish "vagabonds" undoubtedly did turn to peddling when their farming efforts failed. A number of them felt, however, that in spite of their lack of success their efforts entitled them to some claim on the land. Mordecai Weidman was the first to apply for a patent on his homestead and others followed. The dispute over who would get title to the Moosomin land lasted many years and led to voluminous correspondence. The position of the settlers was complicated by two factors. They had to show fulfilment of the minimum requirements of settlement and land development and, in those years, proof of naturalization was still required to validate a land claim.

For their part, the Mansion House Committee and their trustees in Canada tried to obtain title to the lands on the basis of the liens which they held. This situation was not helped by government representatives trying to enforce regulations which were subject to re-interpretation and amendment over a period of several decades. The long drawn out procedures that resulted contributed to mutual feelings of disillusionment among those involved and led to a negative attitude among some Jewish leaders in London towards other Jews who wanted to become farmers. There was also growing prejudice among some government officials against Jews as homesteaders.

It was only after the leaders of the Hebrew Benevolent Society in Montreal began to plan for a new colony in 1891 that they inquired into the fate of the colonists at Moosomin. They had written for help to the Mansion House Committee in London as well as to the newly formed Jewish Colonization Association in Paris. In late November a rather unsympathetic reply came from the Chief Rabbi, Hermann Adler, writing for the London committee. Rabbi Adler said they were opposed to the new scheme due to the failure of the Moosomin colony established "in 1882", on which they had spent:

> an immense amount of money, ... in all 3,000 [pounds] ... (and) no grave mistakes were made at the outset (because) we had the invaluable aid and counsel of Sir Alexander Galt at every step ... If with all these advantages our enterprise turned out a failure we should not be justified in repeating so costly an experiment.

Alexander Galt, Father of Confederation and sponsor of the Russian Jews who settled at "New Jerusalem".

Rabbi Adler also felt the severe Canadian winter would prove "an insuperable hindrance." The London Committee offered to transfer the Moosomin lands to those who wanted to try again to settle Russian refugees but they "dare not disburse any further sums for this ..."

The Chief Rabbi obviously cited 1882, as the date when the Jews went to Moosomin, without reference to earlier records. His use of that date, and its repetition in the exchange between Ansell and the Government, which followed, has led some historians to compound the error by not going back to the primary sources of 1882-84.

Why was the Chief Rabbi not better informed about when the Moosomin colony was started and what happened there? The fact is that two members of the Mansion House Committee, Samuel Montagu and Benjamin Cohen, and a Jewish representative from Berlin, Walter Abel, visited Winnipeg during 1884-86, to inquire into the circumstances of the Jews sent there in 1882, and of those who later went to Moosomin. Their findings were reported in the *London Jewish*

Hiram and Fanny Weidman with their family, Winnipeg 1889. After early trials on the land, the Weidman family became successful wholesalers in Winnipeg.

Chronicle, as well as in Canadian newspapers. There were additional press reports on New Jerusalem during 1889-1891. This makes it difficult to understand, as well, why the Montreal Jewish leaders were also in the dark.

The memory failure by Jewish leaders in Montreal and London about the two-year wait for land, almost casts the Moosomin pioneers in the role of another "lost tribe," who wandered beyond the mythical Sambatyon River, like the ten tribes of ancient Israel. (Legend has it that the ten lost tribes disappeared beyond the Sambatyon, a river which carried a strong flow of sand and rubble, rather than water, six days a week, and only rested on the Sabbath.)

But this was Canada in 1891 and the failure to keep abreast of the experience of the Russian Jews in the West in the 1880s added to the pejorative view of the Jews as failures at farming. This view was reinforced by the replies from the government. The Interior Department said there was no special report about the Jews at Moosomin. It was simply asserted they had abandoned their homesteads:

> Not by reason of any defect in the quality of the soil, or the terms of the Canadian Land Laws, but from the fact that they apparently had no aptitude for agricultural pursuits.

The Agriculture Department also claimed to have no record of the land purchased near Moosomin for the Jewish families.

In fact there was information on the Jews in Government records, *e.g.* an Order-in-Council had been adopted on 4 April 1887, granting the application of Sir Alexander Galt to record liens against the homesteads for the amounts of the original loans by the Mansion House Committee to the 27 settlers.

When the Montreal Society was considering the Moosomin lands for the new settlement a Homestead Inspector, R.S. Park, was asked to inquire into the earlier effort. Park reported there was not a single Russian Jew on any homestead in the locations assigned in 1884. He could therefore not determine the homestead duties they had performed.

Park added however that he had reported earlier on the status of some of the Jewish settlers who had applied for patents in 1887 and this report should be on file. He recounted that:

> In 1887 there was a general exodus of those people from these two townships ... After two years some of them came back, bringing with them a few new settlers of the same nationality, just as poor and just as needy. They formed an idea that if they were all together it might be possible to get along ... With this in view they formed what was called New Jerusalem, built several houses with the ruins of ... houses left by their predecessors. [They] remained in this city [Whitewood] one year, had one crop, which unfortunately was so badly frozen that they were discouraged and this band also deserted the city and township.

The Jews left a few houses and stables which were "all burned last fall," the Homestead Inspector added. In fact there were more than houses and stables at New Jerusalem. They had also built a small synagogue. In the spring of 1892, two representatives of the Montreal society who inspected the Moosomin site found the remains of the synagogue, as well as two houses, all without doors, windows or flooring. Having built a synagogue the Jews were certainly thinking of establishing a community.

There is also an 1892 Interior Department memorandum listing 23 of the original 27 Jews at Moosomin and of these 14 actually completed their homestead duties. They could have been entitled to receive patents to their land if they had filed naturalization papers.

It is also recorded that a prairie fire swept through New Jerusalem in 1889, destroying everything the colonists had taken great pains to build. The Jews who were still there became too demoralized to start over again and so they left. It should therefore be clear that environmental factors were a major cause of the destruction of this first Jewish farm settlement in the West.

The wedding of Rhoda Lechtzier to Maurice Halter. One of the children of this marriage became Canada's first football commissioner.

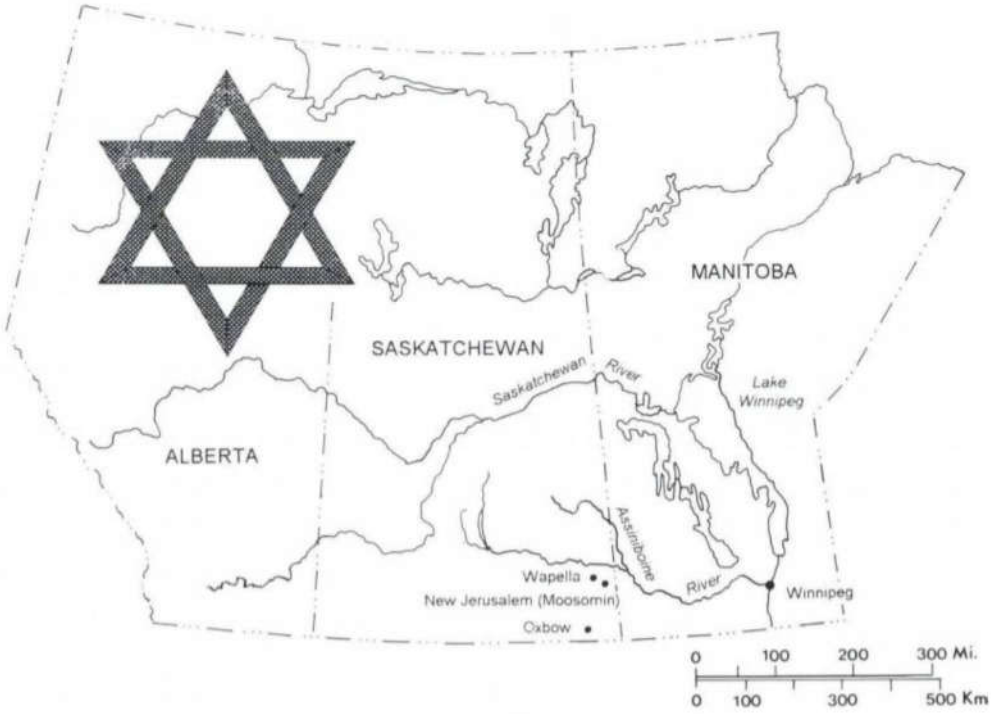
In addition, when someone asked some of the colonists why they left they replied it was because of "the bad management of the representatives of the committee." Thus there was also an element of mutual recrimination between settlement sponsors and settler recipients of the limited aid that was offered. This factor was to arise again in future Jewish agricultural efforts.

Considering the calumnies heaped upon those bedeviled Jews at Moosomin in 1884-89, it may therefore be suggested that, historically speaking, they became lost in the sand and rubble of an archival Sambatyon River. Who were these Jews, allegedly lost in the Canadian Northwest in the late 1880s, who earned the ire of Sir Alexander Galt, who called them "vagabonds?"

The first three years, when the Jews experienced their crop failures, coincided with the years of the second Metis uprising under Louis Riel. They certainly did not know that the visionary Riel had his own imaginative plan for populating the West. After ensuring the rights of the Metis and the Indian tribes, Riel was prepared to welcome other Catholic nations to settle in the West. He also included the Jews in his plan, offering them no "New Jerusalem," but a "New Judea" on Vancouver Island.

There is nothing to show that Riel ever had anything to do with Jews who had begun to settle in the West in the 1880s. It has been recorded however that several months before Riel was hanged, a German Jew, John Connor (Koehner), was hanged for murder in Regina, on the same gallows on which the Metis leader was executed.

It seems that by 1886 the pejorative label of "failure" applied to the Jews at Moosomin, had already reached London. That year Herman Landau, a London Jewish financier and philanthropist, began to discuss with the CPR plans to send another group of six Russian Jews to take up land near Wapella. He said they were of a "better class" than those who had failed at Moosomin. In fact all but one of the group Landau sent also left the



land within a short time. John Heppner, the only one who stayed, was joined in 1889 by Abraham Klenman and others who helped to make the Wapella settlement the first thriving Jewish farm colony in the West.

Those who had started out for Moosomin in 1884 included a number of families who later established themselves in Winnipeg and became pillars of the community, such as the Weidmans and the Lechtziers. Some of these people actually began to put down roots in Winnipeg before they started out for their homesteads in 1884.

Simon Lechtzier and his son Abraham were two of the original Moosomin group. Abraham Lechtzier's wife Doba gave birth to twin babies in Winnipeg in April, 1883; one did not live and was one of several Jewish infants who died in the winter and spring of 1883. This made it necessary for the Lechtziers to become involved, with others, in establishing the first Jewish cemetery in Manitoba.

The surviving child was Toba Rhoda Lechtzier who later married Maurice Halter. Two of their children were Aubrey and Sidney Halter. The latter became Canada's first football commissioner.

Mordecai Weidman, who with his father Berl and his older brother Chiam (Hiram), went to Moosomin, returned to Winnipeg to be married to Bessie Shragge in November 1885. By 1889 the two younger Weidmans were back in Winnipeg permanently. After some years they established Weidman Brothers wholesale grocery firm, later to become one of the largest of such enterprises in Western Canada.

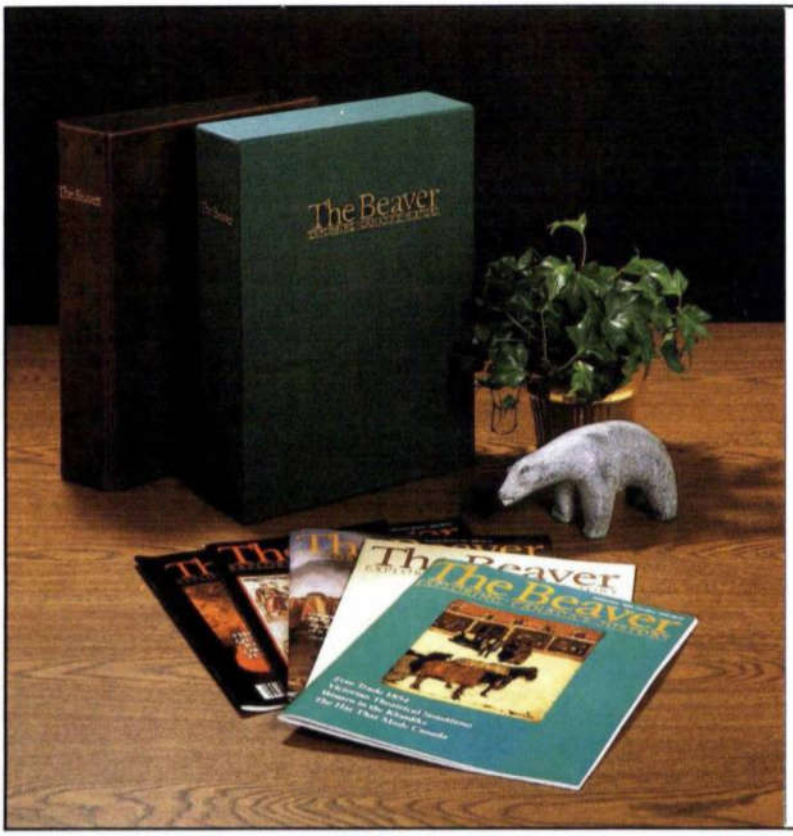
The Weidmans were pioneers in the development of Winnipeg's Jewish religious institutions and were among the founders of Shaarey Zedek, the first synagogue, built in 1889. Philip Lechtzier (who did not go to Moosomin) and his wife, were the first couple married in the new synagogue in 1890.

By the 1890s the Weidmans were helping other Jewish immigrants through the Jewish Colonization Association. They became involved in various philanthropic endeavors as well as in the Zionist movement.

Mordecai Weidman was also a prime mover in the development of Jewish education in the city and a founder of the Talmud Torah Hebrew Free School which early in the twentieth century was cited as one of the exemplary Jewish schools in North America.

It is therefore clear that at least some of the "failed" Jewish homesteaders at Moosomin came back from "beyond the Sambatyon" to show that there were other occupational opportunities in the West besides farming. They also made a contribution to Jewish life and some of them became involved in politics and public affairs as well. ◆

Abraham Arnold of Winnipeg has written extensively on the history of the Jews in Canada.



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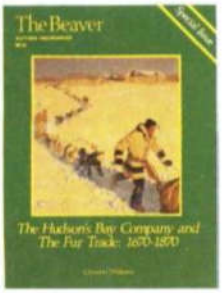

THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY AND THE FUR TRADE 1670-1870

By GLYNDWR WILLIAMS

86 pages. Illustrated

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See tax table page 48

Most Merrily to War

By Robert Saunders

MERRY HEARTS MAKE LIGHT DAYS
The War of 1812 Journal of Lieutenant John Le Couteur, 104th Foot

Edited by Donald E. Graves. Carleton University Press, Ottawa, 1993. 308 pp., illus. $17.95

For most of us, mention of the War of 1812 conjures up memories of stories in our schoolbooks of gallant Brock charging up Queenston Heights to his death or Laura Secord hastening through the woods to warn of an American attack. Few who are not well versed in the details of the campaigns are likely to recall one of the most dramatic episodes of all — the march of the 104th Regiment from Fredericton to Kingston in the bitter winter of 1813.

We can, therefore, be grateful to Donald E. Graves for the skilful and painstaking manner in which he has edited the journal of Lieutenant John Le Couteur, a young subaltern from the island of Jersey who had joined the 104th Foot in Canada the year before the march. Although he wrote his journal some years after the event, it is clear that Le Couteur based it on a diary he kept at the time but which has since been lost. He was only nineteen years old in the winter of 1813 and so it is not surprising that his account retains the zest and high spirits that belong to youth. Despite that — or perhaps because of that — it is intensely moving.

The 104th Foot had its headquarters in Fredericton. Since Massachusetts and the other New England states opposed "Mr. Madison's War" there was little need for New Brunswick to fear an attack and so when, early in 1813, a fresh American invasion of Upper or Lower Canada seemed imminent, the regiment was ordered west. On 16 February the regimental headquarters and the grenadiers company marched out of Fredericton and another company started on each of the next five days. Le Couteur's company was the last to leave, its bugles playing "The Girls We Leave Behind Us".

John Le Couteur

"The company," Le Couteur recalled in his journal, "presented a most unmilitary appearance as it marched without arms or knapsacks, in Indian file, divided into squads, so many to each Toboggan, the rear of it being nearly half a mile from the front".

It was an unusually cold winter and enough snow kept falling to make it necessary for each company to break trail afresh. This created difficulties, as Le Couteur noted.

"We frequently lost our narrow snow-shoe track and, if careless, were precipitated into deep snow. One man getting a fall of this kind caused a halt to all those in his rear for ten minutes or a quarter of an hour, until he had scrambled out from his cold bath. The inconvenience of keeping all the rear at a halt was found so great that it was agreed to march on and leave the straggler to regain his place when he could, which was by no means an easy matter, and made officers and men careful not to fall if they could avoid it, from fear of having to march some distance in the deep snow."

The march would begin at daybreak but would continue only until the mid-afternoon so that camp could be made before dark. For the first few days the troops were able to sleep in houses and barns, but once they had left the settlement behind, they had to erect shelters in the woods and sleep closely packed around their fires for warmth.

By the beginning of March, as the regiment struggled towards Rivière-du-Loup, many of the men were suffering from severe frostbite and food was starting to run low. On 4 March Le Couteur recorded that "when we got to the end of our day's march, the cold was so intense that the men could scarcely use their fingers to hew down firewood or to build huts and it was dark before we could commence cooking, if sticking a bit of salt pork on the end of twig and

holding it in a fire could be so termed".

As they got nearer to Quebec City, however, they found they were marching along a good, snow-beaten road and food was plentiful again so that "our last seven days passed away merrily under the cheering smiles of the worthy Canadians". Le Couteur adds that "our merry bugles were quite a novel treat to the Canadian lasses". He always had an eye for the girls.

On 15 March the tail of the regiment reached Quebec City where they were greeted by "an immense concourse of people who appeared to consider us quite the lions of the army after our unexampled march". Each company had managed to complete the difficult journey of more than 350 miles in 24 days.

This was not to be the end of their marathon, however. They were on their way to Montreal when orders came through that they were to go straight on to Kingston in Upper Canada. The regiment learned of this on 1 April and some of the men professed to believe it was all an April Fool's joke. But, as Le Couteur drily observed, "the 2nd of April undeceived us; we were off to Kingston".

The arrival at Kingston was dramatic. "On 12 April we were marching up a gentle ascent and, just as the head files were rising it, there was a general exclamation of 'The sea, the sea! ... The ships, the ships!' The whole of us spontaneously broke and ran to witness the novel and interesting sight ... . There lay before our astonished and delighted view the town of Kingston, the magnificent Lake Ontario and, what was far more surprising still, a squadron of ships-of-war frozen on its bosom".

In 1831 Le Couteur, now retired and living once again on the island of Jersey, submitted his account of the winter march to the New York newspaper *The Albion* which published it in November of that year. Nearly a century later, in 1930, the *Albion* piece was reprinted in the *Canadian Defence Quarterly* (Volume VII, No. 4) with annotations by Major M.A. Pope.

The remainder of the journal has not hitherto been published. Although there is nothing else in it as dramatic as the Fredericton-to-Kingston march, there is much that will be of interest to historians of the war, especially those parts dealing with the campaign in the Niagara Peninsula in 1814. The whole of the journal deserves to be widely known and it is good, therefore, to have it available in so attractive and readable a format.

Le Couteur relied heavily on a diary he kept continuously from 1812 in writing his journal, which he likely intended to serve as his autobiography. The diary for the years 1812 to 1815 has, unfortunately, been lost but we still have the part dealing with Le Couteur's time in Canada from late 1815 to 1817 and from this it can be seen that many passages in the journal were simply transcribed almost verbatim from the diary. In 1970 Le Couteur's descendants donated the manuscript of the journal to the Société Jersiaise at St. Helier, Jersey. The previous year Joan Stevens had made use of the journal in writing *Victorian Voices,* her biography of Le Couteur.

The journal has a two-fold interest, military historians will welcome it as a first-hand account of army life at the beginning of the nineteenth century and the general reader will have the pleasure of discovering in its pages a fresh and attractive — albeit minor — figure in Canadian history.

The journal gives us few new insights into the higher policy and strategy of the war for the simple reason that Le Couteur was never in a position to learn much about such matters. His was a subaltern's war. What he does provide is an eyewitness description of Canada at war that, in the words of Graves, "is a testament to the courage and discipline of the forgotten victor of the forgotten war — the regular British soldier".

This goes to the heart of the matter. Historians have long maintained that the War of 1812 was won by the professional soldier but this has never been the conventional view. It has, on the contrary, been an accepted part of Canadian folklore that it was boys from the farm and the forge — "the gallant and loyal militia" — who rallied around and, with virtually no help from the regular army, flung back the American invaders. More than a generation ago C.P. Stacey took direct aim at this myth. In an article in *Ontario History* (Summer, 1958) he wrote that although the militia did play an essential role in the war, it was still only a secondary role. It was, he pointed out, the handful of professionally-trained British troops who not only supplied the leadership in the war but also did the lion's share of the actual fighting.

Not long after Stacey's article appeared, another well-known military historian came to the defence of the militia. In an essay in *After Tippecanoe* — studies in the War of 1812 edited in 1963 by Philip P. Mason — George F.G. Stanley

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argued that in the first year of the war, when the regulars in Upper Canada were few in number, militiamen were the major component of the forces which defeated the enemy at Detroit, Queenston Heights and Ogdensburg. Stanley, however, agreed with Stacey that in the final outcome the militia did not play the dominant role. Nevertheless, what Stacey called the Militia Legend persists and it is to be hoped that the publication of Le Couteur's journal will play a part in setting the record straight.

Military history aside, the chief value of the journal lies in the insight it affords into the character of Le Couteur himself. The portrait of him reproduced on the cover of the book shows a young soldier with an intelligent, sensitive face, kind eyes and a mouth that seems on the verge of breaking into a smile. The title Graves has chosen for the book — *Merry Hearts Make Light Days* — is taken from a sentence in the journal and it perfectly expresses Le Couteur's personality.

Anyone wanting to know what kind of a man Le Couteur was need only read his account of finding and befriending a starving kitten when his regiment was stationed at Queenston in the fall of 1814. It is a vivid and humorous sketch, somewhat in the manner of Frederick Marryat and complete with the racy dialogue of the officers' mess. (Le Couteur had an ear for the vernacular that a novelist might envy.) A summary of the incident would not do Le Couteur justice. Suffice it to say that it ended with the grateful kitten, now fully restored to health, following Le Couteur wherever he went and even accompanying him onto the parade ground, much to the amusement of the troops.

It is no wonder that a man such as Le Couteur was strongly opposed to the terrible floggings that were standard punishment in the army at that time. He preferred to devise milder forms of discipline rather than report his men to higher authority and thus subject them to courts martial and the lash. His compassion and good sense paid off and, he says, his "kind and devoted soldiers ... understood my meaning perfectly and appreciated it — their honour was mine". Once, when he called for a few volunteers to accompany him on a dangerous mission, every single one of his men stepped forward.

He sounds like an altogether estimable young man and it is pleasant to learn that when his military career was over, he returned to his beloved Jersey and there lived a long, useful and happy life, dying at last as Sir John Le Couteur in 1875 at the age of 82. By that time, the young man of the portrait had acquired a flowing white beard.

Graves has written an introduction supplying details about the journal and sketching Le Couteur's career after leaving Canada. Copious notes at the end of each chapter identify nearly everyone mentioned by Le Couteur. There is a good selection of portraits, woodcuts and drawings, although some maps — especially one of the famous march — would have been helpful. ◆

Robert Saunders, a regular book-reviewer for the "The Beaver", lives in Winnipeg.

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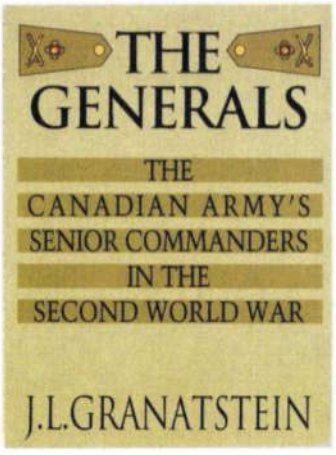

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What People Were Wearing

By Julia Pine

Fashion, as any costume historian will tell you, is a wonderful way to look at history. Most of us don't give much thought to the contents of our closets, but clothing, in addition to providing warmth and protection, is a primary source of identity, creativity, social standing, age, attractiveness and affiliation. And as well as being a personal statement, fluctuations in fashion often reflect changes in social climate, technology, artistic and political movements and events. Caroline Routh, an artist, costume historian and teacher of design history at Toronto's Seneca College, became fascinated with this element of fashion in relation to Canadian history. And as a result she has written *In Style: 100 Years of Canadian Women's Fashion,* the first book of its kind on Canadian women's apparel.

In Style consists of nine chapters, each covering one decade beginning in 1900. Montreal and Toronto are the main areas of focus, being the most productive in fashion throughout this century, but Routh does occasionally nod toward Vancouver or Halifax. Photographs, fashion plates and advertisements of each period highlight the text, indicating prices of various items and a sense of the consumer to whom they were designed to appeal. Several pages at the end of each chapter are taken up by Routh's own black and white drawings supplemented with descriptive text. These are of representative pieces from various private collections and museums such as the Royal Ontario Museum and the Museum of Civilization. The drawings are well-executed, detailed and accurate, often showing at least two views of each garment. They provide a useful close-up contrast to the broader perspective of the text and convey the fashionable silhouette, construction, fabrics, and draping of each period.

Routh begins each chapter with an overview of the political and social atmosphere of the times and then relates it to fashion trends. She dis-

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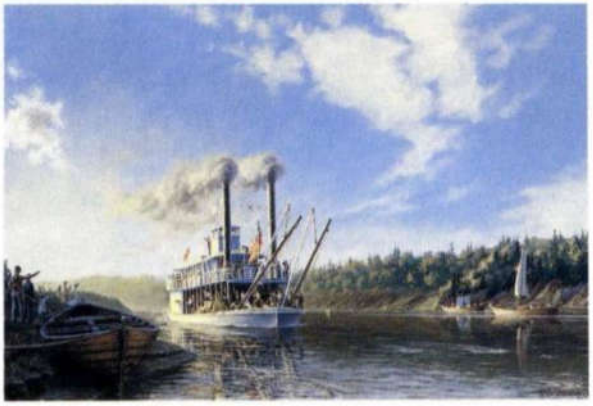
IN STYLE
100 Years of Canadian Women's Fashion

By Caroline Routh. Stoddart Publishing, Toronto, 1993. 206 pp., illus. $26.95.



Steamer *Northcote* at Fort Edmonton, 1875

BY PETER RINDLISBACHER

This splendid evocation of the pioneer Canadian West is the first in a series of paintings of historic prairie steamers by the distinguished Canadian marine artist Peter Rindlisbacher.

The painting shows the famous Hudson's Bay Company vessel *Northcote* making its first visit to the HBC post at what is now the site of the city of Edmonton, Alberta, 10 years before the steamer's dramatic role at the Battle of Batoche in the North-West Rebellion.

The Beaver is offering a quality reproduction of this historic painting printed on fine stock and suitable for framing. It measures 13⅜" x 19¼" and is priced at **$14.98 each.**

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A touch of sin
With Elinor Glyn

The Beaver
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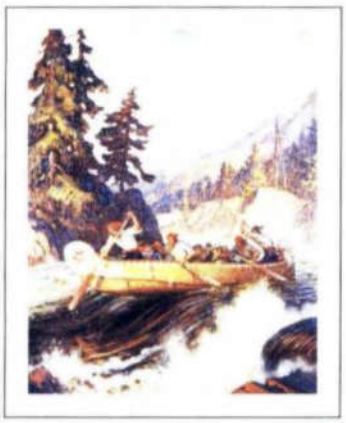
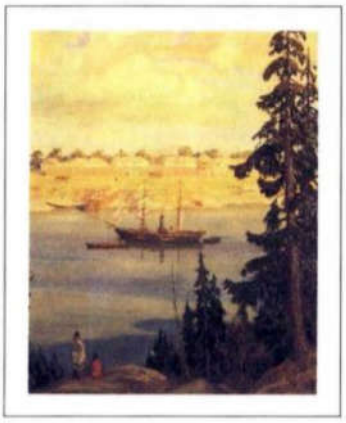
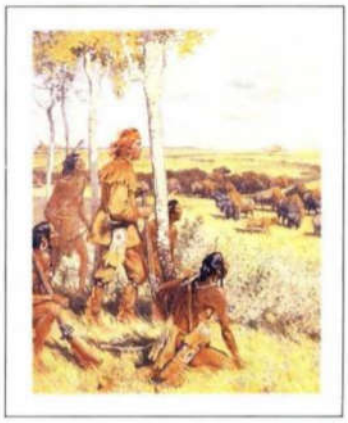


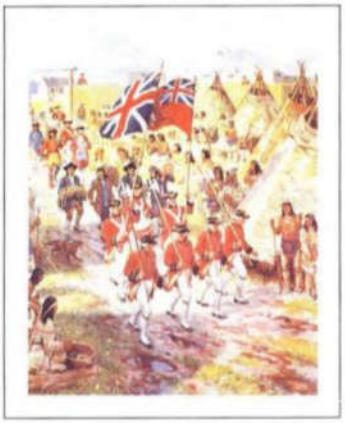
A. *Chief Trader Archibald McDonald Descending the Fraser*
By A. Sherriff Scott.



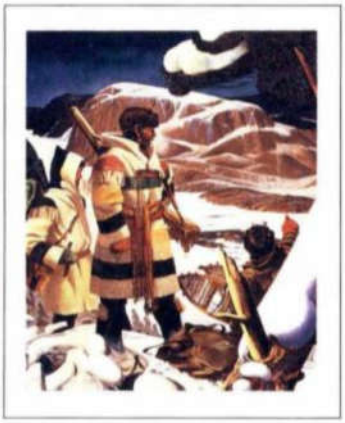
B. *S.S. "Beaver" Off Fort Victoria*
By A. Sherriff Scott.



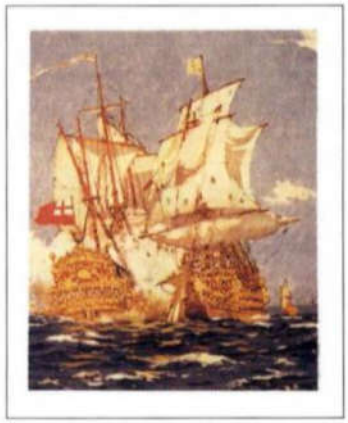
C. *Kelsey Sees the Buffalo*
By C.W. Jefferys.



D. *Trading Ceremony at York Factory*
By A. Sherriff Scott.



E. *R.M. Ballantyne and Chief Trader George Barnston at Tadoussac, 1846*
By Charles Comfort.



F. *Battle in the Bay, 1697*
By Norman Wilkinson.

Over the years the Hudson's Bay Company has commissioned distinguished Canadian painters to create works depicting important events in the long history of the Company. Among the most popular works in the HBC collection are those pictured above by C.W. Jefferys, A. Sherriff Scott, Norman Wilkinson and Charles Comfort.

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cusses how movements in art and architecture influence clothing design and how manufacturing and textile technology change the way clothing is made and what it is made of. Most striking is the relationship between women's emancipation and costume. Routh chronicles how at the turn of the century Canadian women were still tightly covered and corseted in a tradition of many previous centuries. Then, in tandem with women's right to vote, increased participation in sports, and entering the workforce, clothing became looser, lighter, and more practical. During the Second World War women's styles resembled army uniforms, and by the sixties, in conjunction with contraceptives and women's lib, hemlines reached an all-time high. By the end of *In Style,* it is impossible to look at modern styles without a historical perspective — and, for women, a sigh of relief.

Routh also successfully manages to define what makes Canadian fashion specifically *Canadian.* European and American influences will always be the primary factor. Another is, of course, the climate. Fur has evidently played a great role in both fashion and business in Canada as have Western adaptations of Inuit and Native North American costume. The cited "La Parka" of the 1980s, for example, which is a modern "designer" adaptation of the traditional Inuit overcoat, could have evolved nowhere else. And items like the so-called "pneumonia neckline", a low, open V-neck introduced in Paris in 1907, naturally took on a new meaning when imported to a country where below-zero temperatures are not uncommon.

Routh also makes clear that Canadian women, as clothing consumers, have always been conservative, often viewing fashion as more of a duty than a luxury. Of the 1950s she writes "[Women] paid great attention to fashion news from Paris. The front-page coverage of Parisian style news in most Canadian daily papers heightened women's impression that they were powerless to rebel against Paris dictates." But Canadian women, the author points out, have their limits. In Ottawa in 1947, stores displaying "New Look" fashions were picketed in protest of "the high-pressure campaign of the big fashion magazines to bully women back to the fashions of the past."

In Style contains a wealth of Canadian fashion trivia, like the Scott Paper Company's manufacturing of paper dresses in the 1960s — they received orders for 500,000 of them in 1966. And how during the Second World War regulations dictated restrictions on fashion and clothing manufacture: "By 1942, day dresses could not have zippers longer than nine inches ... It was forbidden ... to create a hemline sweep over eight inches for size 16 ... or a belt over two inches wide."

The business of fashion is another theme throughout *In Style,* which chronicles the growth of many familiar shops and companies such as Fairweather's (originally known for furs) Sears, Holt Renfrew and Big Steel (opened in the 1960s as a "mod" unisex outlet). Of course, the Hudson's Bay Company has always been a player in Canadian fashion, even creating signature pieces like the Hudson's Bay Coat. Shopping has often been an ordeal in a country as vast as Canada, and the author explains how important mail order catalogues were and still are to Canadian life. They not only gave Canadian women in remote areas access to clothing and accessories, but also helped to communicate the fashion message across an enormous expanse of territory.

Soon department stores became popular places to shop; the 1950s and 1960s saw the rise of couture salons and boutiques, and finally, the arrival of chain-stores and shopping malls.

In Style is a thorough, well documented, illustrated and researched overview of Canadian women's dress and the fashion industry during this century. It is not an academic work, but a lively and accessible book that will appeal to Canadians in all walks of life. And we can only hope it is the first of many more works on this important and fascinating part of Canadian life and history. ◆

Fashion commentator Julia Pine lives in Toronto.

Books Received

Recently published books on North American history include:

A Concise History of Business in Canada. By Graham D. Taylor and Peter A. Baskerville. Oxford University Press, Don Mills, 1994. 491 pp., illus. $28.95.

Bloody Victory: Canadians and the D-Day Campaign 1944. By J.L. Granatstein and Desmond Morton. Lester Publishing, Toronto, 1994, 240 pp., illus. $19.95.

Canada's Enemies: Spies and Spying in the Peaceable Kingdom. By Graeme S. Mount. Dundurn Press, Toronto, 1994. 158 pp., illus. $24.99.

Chief Engineer: Life of a Nation Builder — Sanford Fleming. By Lorne Green. Dundurn Press, Toronto, 1994. 191 pp., illus. $29.95.

Legends Told in Canada. By Edith Fowke. Royal Ontario Museum/ University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1994. 96 pp., illus. $19.95.

Sacred Stories of the Sweet Grass Cree. By Leonard Bloomfield. Fifth House Publishers, Saskatoon, 1993. 350 pp. $16.95.

The Prime Ministers of Canada. By Gordon Donaldson. Doubleday, Toronto, 1994. 352 pp. $18.95.

Raincoast Chronicles 15: Stories and History of the B.C. Coast. Edited by Howard White. Harbour Publishing, Madeira Park, B.C., 1994. 80 pp., illus. $10.95.

THE PACKET

Letters, Notes and Opinion

Wavy Navy

I have read with great interest your April/May 1994 issue "Aspects of War". I was especially interested in the articles about the "Hasty Pees" from nearby Belleville and the MTB action against a U-boat off Cape Hatteras.

It is in connection with this second article and its reference to the "Royal Canadian Navy *Veterans'* Reserve" that I am writing. I wonder how many others are writing at this moment to point out that the old R.C.N.V.R. actually was the Royal Canadian Navy *Volunteer* Reserve.

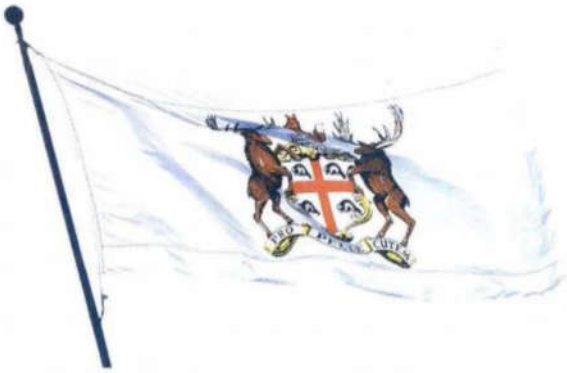
As was the case with the R.N., and R.C.N., it designated the "hostilities only" people as Volunteer Reserves, to distinguish them from the "professionals". Officers of the Volunteer Reserve were given wavy rank stripes to distinguish them from the straight stripes of the "regulars", hence the name "Wavy Navy". With the wartime expansion of the navy, it was not long before the "Wavy Navy" completely outnumbered the R.C.N.

"If they ask us who we are,
We're the R.C.N.V.R.
Roll along Wavy Navy, roll along."

N.A. Tilford,
Kingston, Ontario.

The Editor of the Beaver, who was nine years old when the Second World War ended, accepts responsibility for this and other errors in the "Aspects of War" issue which have been pointed out by numerous correspondents who were there as participants.

Flags of the Adventurers



Now the familiar "house flag" of the Hudson's Bay Company, the white banner bearing the famous HBC coat-of-arms has a long and dramatic history. It flew over ships of the Company's sailing fleet that left Gravesend for Hudson Bay in 1767 and it continued to identify Company vessels until the late eighteen hundreds. In this century it has been the standard of the HBC Governors and, since the 1970s, the Honourable Company's official flag. Now this fine 3 ft. x 6 ft. flag is available in weather-resistant nylon as a special limited offer to readers of *The Beaver.*

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From the great days of the fur trade until the Company was reorganized in the 1970s, the Hudson's Bay Company conducted its far-flung business and trading activities under its own distinctive Company flag, the familiar red ensign with the HBC initials in the fly. Now this historic flag is for sale to collectors and fur trade history enthusiasts who read *The Beaver.* This fine 3 ft. x 6 ft. flag, suitable for display, is made of weather-resistant nylon.

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The Sinking of the "Empress of Britain"

In the February/March issue of *The Beaver,* Gavin Murphy reviewed my book *Empress of Britain: Canadian Pacific's Greatest Ship.* He makes a number of complimentary remarks for which I am grateful, of course. But although we appear to agree on 24 of the book's chapters, we differ on the final one.

Mr. Murphy takes issue with this chapter, which covers the ship's sinking. I have no argument with this when he expresses an opinion or when he deals with the facts. But Mr. Murphy makes allegations that simply do not stand up to scrutiny. He states that "a more detailed account of [the ship's] end, including interviews with people on board at the time, the Germans responsible and those who attempted to come to its aid would have provided fascinating reading."

What Mr. Murphy implies should have been included is, in fact, right there in the text. The attack on the ship by Oberleutnant Bernhard Jope, the German bomber pilot, is described from contemporary accounts (1940), and also from a letter written by Herr Jope more than 40 years later. The discrepancies between the accounts are clearly noted. Details of the torpedo attack by *U-32* were taken in part from a written account given by the submarine's commander, Oberleutnant Hans Jenisch in the 1960s.

As for the people on board at the time, my book gives a direct quotation from one of the survivors and I used the information given to me by others to supplement the accounts I found elsewhere.

Your reviewer takes me to task for not interviewing someone who came to the rescue of survivors from the sinking ship. Why he makes this claim, I do not understand. Pages 189 and 190 include direct quotations from a crewman of the Polish destroyer *Burza* who pulled survivors from the water.

So there you have it. Mr. Murphy appears not to be happy with my account of the *Empress of Britain*'s sinking. As a reviewer, he has the right to object. But, I submit, he does not have the right to mislead the reader as to the content of the chapter, making statements that are simply inaccurate.

For a number of years I have been a book reviewer for an American historical magazine. I am aware of a reviewer's obligations in serving as a conduit between an author and his potential readers. One is the need to avoid making unfounded claims.

Gordon Turner,
Toronto,
Ontario.

Lest We Forget

Congratulations to you and your staff for having the sensitivity, insight and courage for selecting those beautiful, powerful poems by Padre Thomas Saunders [*The Beaver,* April/May 1994]. Saunders is a poet of the most sensitive order whose humanity, compassion and clarity of vision are as powerful today as were those emotions fifty years ago.

I plan to introduce this poetry to my high school students. Such power, sensitivity and poetic truth must be passed to young Canadians, who in my opinion have a duty to read, to review and to remember, lest we forget.

D.B.J. Snyder,
English Department,
Penticton Secondary School,
Penticton, British Columbia.

Feat of Arms

I enjoyed the April/May issue of *The Beaver* so much, probably because I am an ex-infanteer who fought at Leonforte while the "Hasty-Pees" captured Assoro. Roger the Norman's hill appeared just as unscalable when I visited it in 1968 as it did when Tweedsmuir's men conquered it in 1945. A magnificent feat of arms.

Tom Saunders' "Imago Dei" is a splendid portrayal of infantrymen coming out of battle and in so many circumstances have I seen the heads go up and the shoulders go back when someone struck up a song to counter dejection. I am most grateful to the "padre" for resurrecting his quite excellent poetry and to you for publishing it. I relived several fifty-year-old experiences when reading it.

Jim Stone,
Ex-Loyal Edmonton Regiment and 2 PPCLI,
Victoria,
British Columbia.

Captain Mowat

I read with interest the article by George E. McElroy on Assoro, in the April/May issue.

The exploits of platoon commander Lieutenant Farley "Squib" Mowat described in the article must have led to his promotion in 1943 to captain, at which time the published photograph was taken.

Peter K. Lewin MD,
Hospital for Sick Children,
Toronto, Ontario.

THE BEAVER
A Gift
That Lasts
All Year

Operation Habbakuk: A Footnote

It is with great interest that I read the article by F.J. McEvoy, in the April-May 1994 issue, on "Operation Habbakuk", as I was the custodian for several years, of the records of the work done in Canada. They came into my possession about 1952, when Robert F. Legget, Director of the Division of Building Research of the National Research Council, arranged to have a locked filing cabinet delivered to my office. The president of the NRC at that time, C.J. Mackenzie, agreed that I should look after them because of my interest in ice, but with the understanding that I should write up the story of the project at the first opportunity.

The records were "top secret", even though the cabinet contained nothing that would justify that classification. We tried for several years to have them declassified, but without success. It appears that it had to have the approval of the originator of the project, and no one was willing to accept the responsibility. The NRC agreed finally to their declassification when it became known that the records in England had been placed in the public archives after the end of the thirty-five-year period of confidentiality.

It was not until after my retirement from NRC that I found time to fulfill the commitment to Dr. Mackenzie. The story of the Canadian contribution to the project is contained in a book, completed in 1990 and published in 1993 by the International Glaciological Society, Cambridge, England. The appendices contain the reports on all the work done in Canada. They are of interest not only from the historical point of view, but also for the information they contain on the properties of ordinary and reinforced ice.

One of the interesting activities was the construction and testing of several reinforced ice beams, up to 2 feet x 4 feet in section and 40 feet long, on the ice cover of Lake Louise in front of the Chateau, a marvelous site for research. Testing of ice beams of that size had never been done before (or since), and the results provided very useful information on the difficulties of building large structures of ice.

Mackenzie arranged for Canadian Industries Limited to loan Mr. B.A. Evans for liaison and co-ordination of the work in Western Canada. Dr. W.H. Cook, Director of the NRC Division of Biological Science, ably assisted in Ottawa. Reporting to Mackenzie was on a weekly basis for all the projects, which allowed him to keep abreast of progress and to ensure the work was done effectively. Although he did not have a high opinion of the project, he always appreciated the effects of cold, ice and snow on engineering in Canada. Following the war, he encouraged Dr. Legget to include ice, snow and frozen ground in the research program of the Division of Building Research.

From the article, it would appear that Pyke invented pykrete, and that this occurred before he submitted his proposal to Lord Mountbatten. In fact, pykrete was developed by Professors H.F. Mark and W.P. Hohenstein at the Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn. At Pyke's request, they began about mid-1942 to look for ways to reinforce ice. Toward the end of 1942, after the project was well underway in Great Britain, they found that adding a small amount of wood pulp to water produced a very tough material when frozen. The potential importance of this discovery was not appreciated fully until early 1943. Measurements of the mechanical properties of pykrete were made by NRC in its laboratories in Ottawa during the last part of the winter of 1942-43, and an extensive study was carried out by Professor G.M. Williams of the University of Saskatchewan during the summer of 1943, in a cold laboratory of the National Harbour Commission in Montreal.

Mackenzie concluded from the work that building ships of ice was technically possible, but too costly with respect to time and material. Interestingly, nature has demonstrated for centuries that large floating platforms are not only possible, but occur quite frequently. This became generally known about 1946 when large ice islands were discovered in the Arctic Ocean. They can be several kilometers in length and width and over 50 meters in thickness. Since 1946, they have been used, on occasion, for scientific programs. Airstrips have been constructed on them to accept planes as large as Hercules aircraft. In contrast to the time constraints imposed on Habbakuk, Mother Nature had some 3,500 years in which to make these enormous structures, and she delivers them to a region for which no refrigeration is required.

Lorne Gold,
Ottawa, Ontario.

A MESSAGE TO OUR READERS

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National Dreamer

Twenty-five years ago Pierre Berton was famous, successful, influential. As a journalist and as a TV personality, he had long since outpaced his few rivals in Canada. But he was not yet the Berton we know. He was not yet Berton the historian.

Then in 1970 he published *The National Dream,* the first of his two-book narrative on the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway. The railway books changed his life — and ours. He was fifty. His important work had just begun.

The idea that Berton's historical writings are his important ones, outweighing all his previous journalism, is Berton's own. He said so last May in Toronto, when he gave the Margaret Laurence Lecture, an annual event (sponsored by the Writers' Development Trust) in which a senior Canadian writer reflects on "A Writer's Life". That idea started me musing on the significance of those railway books. Then he said something else about them.

When he had his research assembled, Berton said, he retreated home to Kleinburg, Ontario. And there he wrote the first draft of the first volume in three weeks — typing, barely able to stop, eighteen hours a day, then spending the other six barely able to sleep, so eager was he to get back to his story. I thought I had never heard a more vivid account of a writer's ecstasy, of being so consumed with a subject that writing becomes a pleasure and an obsession.

Recently I went to talk to Pierre Berton about writing the railway books that founded his historical career. "I haven't read them since then," he said. But he has not forgotten them either. Perhaps working on his memoirs (scheduled for publication in 1995) has helped refresh his memory, but no one lets him forget those books. "They are not my favourite books, or my best. I enjoyed *Vimy* more. And *The Arctic Grail,* my longest book, it's a very long book, I think may be my best. But the railway books made my fortune. And they are the ones everyone still remembers."

Paul Casselman

Pierre Berton

Looking back, Berton sees the inspiration for his plunge into historical writing in *Klondike,* published in 1958. That book, about the beginnings of the community he grew up in, might easily have been a one-time venture into history, for a daily column for the *Toronto Star* preoccupied him in the years that followed. Most of a decade passed before he considered another history. "I had enjoyed *Klondike.* I can see now that it was about the big subject I like to write about: large groups of people moving through time and space. And I came across the idea of the railway."

Klondike had been built largely from interviews, but the railway led into the archives. "Michael Bliss [who read and commented on the railway manuscript] told me later I would have done better to have started with more of the secondary material, but I went to the archives very early on." Berton discovered the same things most archives-users do. There was the shock of being handed boxes filled with precious, irreplaceable documents: in this case, John A. Macdonald's own letters. There was the struggle to master the handwriting (Prime Minister Alexander Mackenzie, he discovered, wrote left to right across the page in the normal fashion, then parsimoniously turned the page around and wrote more lines at right angles across the first ones). And there was the freedom of research ("In the Public Archives in Ottawa, you could read all night, literally, if you borrowed the materials during their working hours.")

He may have been a neophyte in the archives, but already Berton was finding his reporter's skills useful. He instinctively read the papers on the Pacific Scandal the way only an investigative journalist could, interrogating the sources as he might a politician in a scrum.

He also applied the organizational skills of a writer raised on deadlines. All his notes (and those of his researcher Norman Kelly) went into looseleaf sheets that accumulated in thick binders, numbered paragraph by paragraph. When a binder was full Berton assembled a card index to it, and gradually the cards became an outline of the book. When he began to write, he had at hand a plan and the materials to implement it. "I'm like General Montgomery,"

says Berton now, "I don't make a move until I have all the preparations done and I know exactly what is going to happen."

Journalism also told Berton what kind of book he wanted to write. "I don't call what I do popular history because there is academic history that is popular and non-academic history that no one reads. I call it narrative history. When I started no one in Canada was writing this kind of history. The only exception was Bruce Hutchison." Berton, famed as a journalist for his ability to spot the big story, then get the facts and lay them out in clear vivid prose, planned to apply the same qualities to narrative history. "I'm very influenced by the movies. I try to visualize, I like to see the background. There's a place in the first book [it's volume one, page 222] where I say the meeting between Donald Smith and James J. Hill is like a widescreen movie. Someone criticized that, but that is how I like to see."

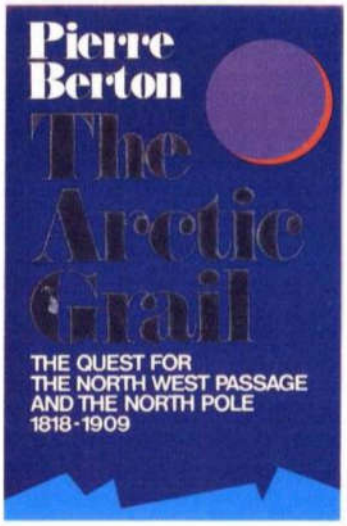
The richness of the archives helped make that widescreen vision possible. "The railway books started as one book. In fact, I always start a book with the fear that there will not be enough material, enough good material." Once or twice he has abandoned a topic on those grounds, but the archives usually provide. "I make nothing up," Berton says firmly. "I don't need to make up the weather, or the time, or someone's thoughts, when there are sources to tell."

Berton's narratives thrive on that special kind of detail. "Daniel McMullen, for instance, the man who revealed the stolen telegrams in the Pacific Scandal. He had been mentioned, but no one had looked into who he was, his height and age and the fact that he had once been in the ginseng business, all the things that make a character vivid." The archival work that provides that kind of detail, the work that also turned up Edward Mallandaine and put a name to the boy who squeezed into the famous Last Spike photograph,

The last spike, 1885. Edward Mallandaine is the boy standing at Donald A. Smith's left side.

is what underpins Berton's historical narrative style, and it has hardly changed since the railway books.

By then it was time to write.



Berton told everyone he was going to Mexico. Instead he went home. To insure quiet, and over the protests of his family (barely heard, one suspects), he took out the telephone. With the card index and twenty binders of notes beside his typewriter, he began the frenzied three weeks that produced the book. "Of course that draft was very rough. I'll write three or four drafts of a book, and up to thirteen of some sections. But I like to get a book down on paper. And I don't always start with Chapter One. In the railway books, I think I started with some of the parliamentary debate, because I knew there was good material there. I had the background on everyone, not just Macdonald, but people like Lucius Seth Huntington, too, and with the background in place, those great speeches just leapt right off the page."

The second book emerged at nearly the same pace. Berton points out that over the years *The Last Spike* has matched the sales of *The National Dream,* no easy feat for a sequel, but he also thinks they are very different books. The first book was more complex because it was about the competing plans and personalities when the railway was indeed mostly a dream. "In the second book, when they are actually building the railway, the story drives the narrative, and the style is very simple because the story just carries it along."

The railway books appeared in 1970 and 1971. Berton thinks the time was right for the new kind of history he was providing. Centennial year had whetted Canadians' interest in Canada. In any case, the books met instant acceptance and extraordinary sales. Berton particularly

remembers a book-signing in Victoria, when orderly lineups collapsed and four hundred people crowded around waving copies of the book at him.

Soon came the television version — surely one of the best things television has ever done on an historical subject. That sold more books, and really the demand never ceased. Berton had created an audience, and he and his audience have gone on together ever since. The success of *The National Dream* made him an historian, and almost twenty-five years of Berton histories have changed the landscape of Canadian historical writing. "When I did the TV series *My Country,* we did 52 episodes. Now I think someone has done a book about every topic we took up in those episodes."

He thinks his best books are those that tap "his" theme — people moving in time and space. But he thinks a subtheme is vital too. "It's there in all the books, and I never say it straight out. But when I find the subtheme, maybe halfway through the research, I know I have a book.

Klondike is not really about gold. It's about man's quest, it's about seeking, it's about the odyssey. *Vimy* is about the frontier, tough, practical, adaptable frontier Canadians who could do what the sophisticated Europeans could not. And *1812* is about the stupidity of war — about how the least stupid general is always the winner. *The Arctic Grail* is about the snobbery of the English class system, which is really what defeated Franklin and the others."

And the railway books? "Oh, that's nationalism, the we can do it legacy." Perhaps indeed, nationalism is the theme of all his histories. His journalism is often critical and controversial, but his history tends to the epic more than the exposé. Berton has waged unrelenting war on Canadians' sense that their country may not be interesting, may not be great, may not be worth our attention. The measure of his success is how hard it is now to go back to when Berton was fifty and no one thought of him as Berton the historian.

Pierre Berton concluded his Margaret Laurence lecture by describing a writer's fear. It's not so much death he fears, he said to appreciative laughter, as the frustration of being taken with a book only half done and never to be completed. The man who lives with that delicious fear is the same one who created the railway books, writing almost around the clock and waking up eager for the sheer satisfaction of writing some more.

He's probably more to be envied for that than for all the fortune his histories have earned. ◆

Pierre Berton delivered the eighth Margaret Laurence Lecture in May 1994. When there are ten, the Writers' Development Trust will publish the complete series. Meanwhile Berton is about to launch "Winter", an illustrated book about "the great Canadian season".

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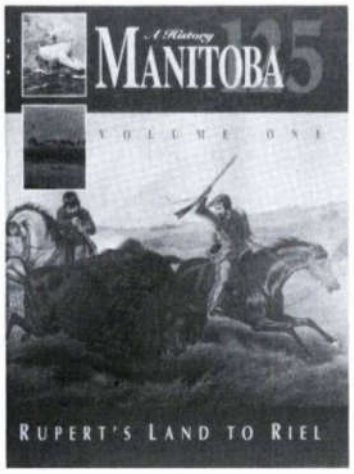

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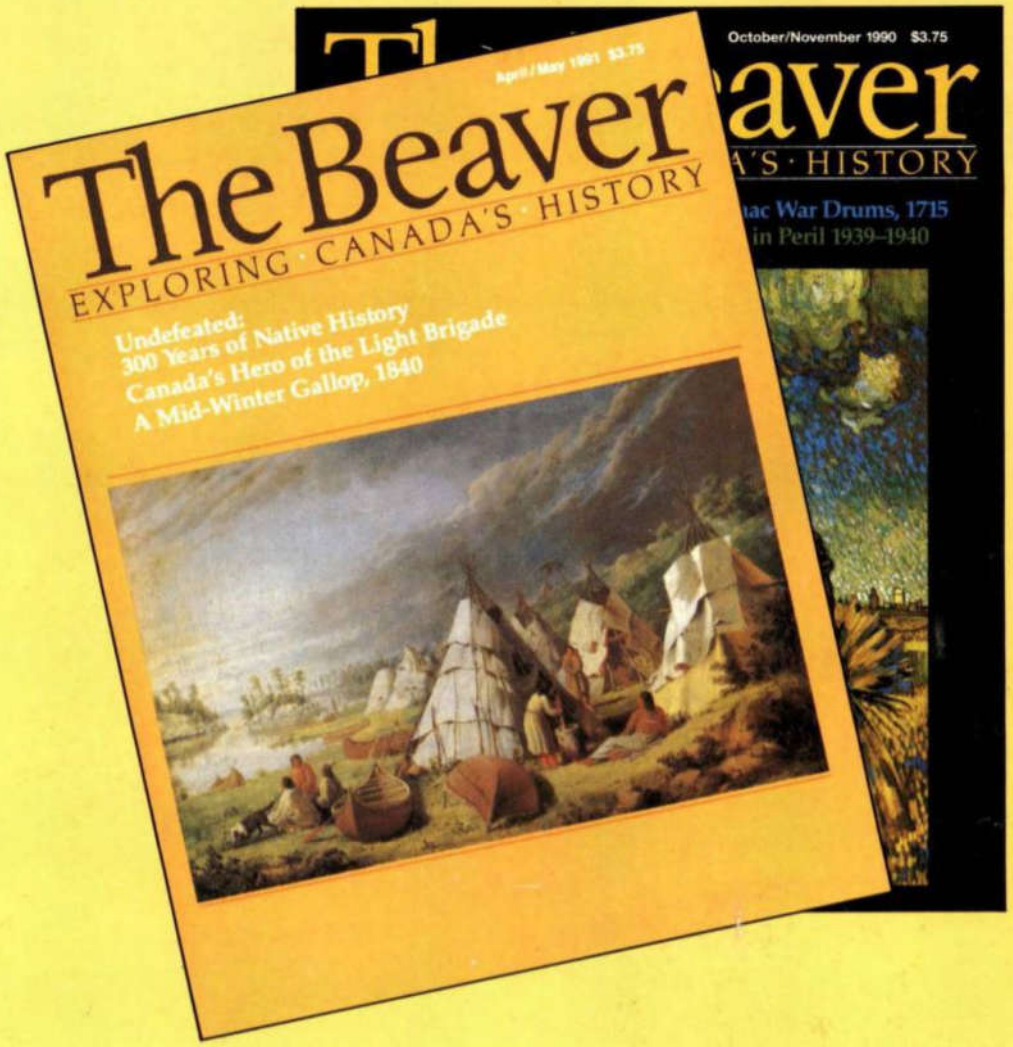

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